

THOMAS CAMPANELLA

An Italian *FRIAR*

And

Second *MACHIAVEL*.

His advice to the *King* of *Spain* for attaining
the universal *Monarchy* of the World.

Particularly concerning *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, how to raise Division between KING and PARLIAMENT, to alter the Government from a Kingdome to a Commonwealth. *Thereby* embroiling *England* in Civil war to divert the *English* from disturbing the *Spaniard* in bringing the *Indian* Treasure into *Spain*.

Also for reducing *Holland* by procuring war betwixt *England*, *Holland*, and other Sea-faring Countries, affirming as most certain, that if the King of *Spain* become master of *England* and the Low Countries, he will quickly be Sole *Monarch* of all Europe, and the greatest part of the new world.

Translated into English by *Ed. Chilmead*, and published for awakening
the English to prevent the approaching ruine of their Nation.

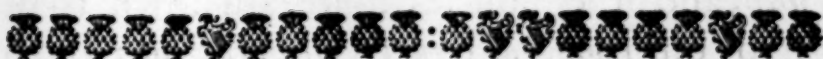
With an admonitorie Preface by *WILLIAM*
PRYNNE of *Lincolnes-Inne* Esquire.

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*Mr. WILLIAM PRYNNE his
premonitory Epistle concerning Cam-
panella's discourse of the Spanish
Monarchy.*

To the Ingenuous Reader.

 Thou hast here presented to thy seri-
ous perusal (by an able hand) a faith-
ful *English Translation* of a discourse
touching the **SPANISH MONAR-**
CHY penned by *Thomas Campanella* (a famous
Italian Frier, and second *Machiavel*) about
the end of *Queen Elizabeths* Reign, prescri-
bing sundry *politick plots* to the *King of Spain*,
how to make himself sole *Temporal*, and the
Pope sole *Spiritual Monarch* of the *world*, in
general ; and of *England, Scotland* and *Ireland*
and *Holland* in particular ; laid down in the 25.
and . 7. chapters ; by sowing the seeds of *divi-*
sion and *intestine wars* between *England, Scot-*
land, Ireland and the *Netherlands*, either by
changing our *Hereditary Kingdom* into a *Com-*
monwealth, or at least into an *Elective King-*
ship,

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ship, and other policies there laid down to destroy our *temporal Kingly Government*; and by broaching new *Opinions* and *Seſts* in *Religion*, and by scattering the seed of Schism and division in the natural sciences, and promoting the study of *Astrology*, to undermine our *Church* and *Religion*, and usher in *Popery* by insensible degrees by *Romish Emissaries*. If thou wilt but seriously peruse these *Chapters* and compare them with the *counsels*, *projects*, proceedings, new models of *Government*, and wars with the *Scots* and *Hollanders* of the late *Agitators* and general Council of *Officers* in the *Army*, and their *Anti-Parliamentary Conventicles*, ever since the year 1647. till this present; thou wilt most clearly discern, and ingenuously confess that they punctually pursued *Campanella* his projects, to advance the *Popes* and *Spaniards* Monarchy over our three *Kingdoms* and the *Netherlands*, and reduce them under their unsupportable *Tyranny* both in *Civils* and *Spirituals*; wherein they have now made (either ignorantly or affectedly) such an unhappy dismal progress, by subverting our ancient *Kingly Government* to metamorphose us into a *Commonwealth*, which hath crumbled our formerly *united Kingdoms*, Churches, into so many opposite irrecon-

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reconcilable Sects, Factions, Parties, Interests, undermining, oppressing each other by impoverishing our Kingdoms, destroying their Trades, and eating them up to the very bones by a perpetual domineering allwaying Army, and intolerable endless Taxes, Excises, Militia's, Imposts, Free-quarters, and all sorts of violences and oppressions, and leaving us no legal visible Head, Authority, Council, Parliament, Governours, Judicatures, to which they can flie for protection or advise; that unless Gods infinite mercy interpose, they are in all probability ready to be invaded, overcome and swallowed up by the united forces of these *Combined Enemies*, and to incur that fatal doom which Christ himself hath predicted to every Kingdome and City in our present condition, *Mat. 12. 25.* Every Kingdome divided against it self, *Is brought to desolation,* and every City or House divided against it self *shall not stand.* Which *Campanella* laying for his ground, made it his Master-piece to set down stratagems to *divide* us and other Kingdoms and Nations against and between themselves, to bring them first to desolation by themselves, that so the *Spaniard* and *Pope* might without much difficulty seise upon them whiles
in

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in that condition, which imminent danger and approaching ruine we have no probable means left to prevent, but by a speedy cordial Christian union between our lawful KING long exiled Head and members; and happy restitution of our Hereditary King, Peers, and English Parliaments to their ancient just Rights and Priviledges according to our sacred Oathes, Protestations, Vow, League, Covenant, and an avowed future renunciation of all *Campanella's* Jesuitical, Popish, Spanish Counsels, Plots, Innovations, dividings, which I leave thee to contemplate. Concluding with this memorable observation and passage of St. *Basil* the great in his *Asctica*. This holy *Saint* of God being very much perplexed in his mind at the manifold Schismes and vehement dissentions then in the Church of Christ, between Christians, Bishops and Ministers themselves, renting the Church with opinions and practices contrary to the commands of the Lord Jesus Christ, and diligently enquiring and much doubting what should be the true cause thereof; at last that text in the Book of *Judges* coming into his mind, Every one did that which was right in his own eyes, the cause whereof is declared in the premised

*Prooemium
de Judicio
Dei.*

*Judg. 17. 6.
18. 1. 21. 25*

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misd words, *In those dayes there was no KING in Israel*, after some consideration and meditation thereupon, he concluded not as a *paradox*, but *undoubted truth*; that the very reason why there was then so great *contention and fighting* amongst *Christians in the Church of Christ*, was, *the contempt of that great, true and only KING of all Men*, whilst every one departed both from the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, and did set up his own cogitations and definitions by his own authority as his rule, and would rather *Command against the Lord, then be subject to the Lord, and governed by him*. When I pondered these things with my self, and stood amazed at this enormous impiety, and would yet further search out the truth hereof, I was perswaded that the aforesaid cause was true in this, as it was in other affairs of this life. *For I saw all the multitude to be a well compounded State, and to Consent and Consist together so long only as obedience was yielded to some one Supream KING of them all*: and on the other side, *That dissention and division of every kind, and also Polyarchy to arise from hence, if there being no KING every man obtained licence to do what he pleased*, I have sometime seen even a swarm of Bees out of the Law of Nature to wage War
and

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and to follow their own KING in order, and I have seen and read many such things of them, and those who are busied about such things know much more; so that what I have said may be proved true from hence. *For it is the proper tie and peculiar of those who regard the command of one, and use one KING, that they be well and Unanimously disposed between themselves: therefore all dissention and discord is both an Index and Prognostick of that contumacy, wherein the Principality of one is rejected* Whether this be not the true and principal cause of all our sad divisions and wars both in Church and State; let the Reader resolve when he hath perused *Campanella* of whom I have oft made mention in my late *publications*, and was one chief cause of its Translation into English.

From my Study in
Lincolnes Inne, De-
cemb. 16. 1659.

William Prynne.



The Translator to the Reader.

Courteous Reader,

SBeing that we are fallen into an Age of *Translations*, that swarm more now then ever, partly by reason that there are so many that (as things now stand) have hardly any other Trade of life to take to; and partly also through the Natural itch that most men have to appear to the world some way or other; (especially since they find so good reception from such Readers, as either cannot, or will not take the pains to peruse Authors in their Originals) I have also adventured to present thee here with a *Translation*, which, if thou understand it, thou wilt thank me for; if thou dost not, thy censure concerns me not.

But first, before I put thee upon the reading of the Book it self, I shall by the way take liberty to give thee some little, but necessary Information, touching these three following Particulars, *viz.* 1. The Author of this Piece. 2. The Use that may be made of it: and 3. Of this present *Translation* of it into English.

First, as for the Author, He was a man that was as famous for his Sufferings, as for his Learning; for notwithstanding that he was a Roman Catholick, nay a Frier, and withal so eager and hearty an Assetter, and Maintainer of the Roman Catholick Sea, and Its Interests; yet for all this do we find him in the *Inquisition*, and so terribly tormented there, as that the Learned *J. Gassard*, a Frenchman, being at *Rome*, where our Author was then in Duresse, and having a desire to see him, he went with some friends to the Place where he was, where he found him (as he expresseth himself in his *Curiositez Inouyes*, cap. 7.) *ayant le gras des jambes toutes meurtries, et les fesses presque sans chair, la luy ayant attachée par une corde, afin*

The Translator to the Reader.

de tirer de luy la confession des crimes dont on l'accusoit : with the Calves of his Legs beaten black and blue all over, and with scarcely any flesh at all upon his buttocks; it having been torn from him peice-meal, to force him to the confession of such crimes as they had accused him of. Neither were these his sufferings of any short Continuance, as appears out of his own words, as in other places, so in this Book of his now in our hands; where we have him intimating unto us (as I conceive) these his sufferings, and calling them *Decennale Afflictionem*, his *Ten years Affliction*, in his Preface to this Book: and in the last Chapter of it, *Decennale miseria*, his *Ten years misery*. But of the reason of these his sufferings, I am not at present able to give thee any very good Account: only the afore cited *J. Gaffarel* there tells us, that there was at that time an Expectation abroad of A full Relation of his whole life; for, saith he, *Mais un sevant Aleman fera voir en peu de temps, l'histoire de ses malheurs, & de sa vie*: A certain Learned German will ere long give us the historie of his Misfortunes, and of his Life. Now whether any such Discourse of *Campanella's* Life ever came forth or not, I know not; I confesse it never came to my hand.

So much for the Authors Sufferings. And as for his Learning, whosoever would understand how large, and General that was, must not stay upon this our present Treatise, but may have recourse to other Tracts of his, that are written of Several Subjects, both in Divinity, Philosophy, Politicks, Astrology, and what not I which the shops will every where furnish him with.

As for this present Discourse, touching the Spanish Monarchy, I confesse I cannot yet discover in what Language it was first written by the Author; but I find that the Latine which is now Lately come abroad, and goes under the name of the Last Edition, and is set forth by *Lodwick Elzivir* at *Amsterdam*, is the Third Edition of it, and pretends to the mending of what was amisse and corrupt in the two former Editions.

And seeing that we have now, in a manner, found a kind of an Accomplishment of some Counsels of his, that were given long ago; as namely, touching a war with the Dutch, it would not be amisse to examine about what time this Book was written. Now though the very time of the writing of it is no where precisely set down; yet there are some Circumstances let fall here and there in the Book, that may serve to guide our Conjecture by. And I therefore conceive it to have been written about 33, or 34 years since

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since. For, it is plain, that it was written in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, and after 88. and indeed, when the Queen was now grown very Old, and that King *James* was in daily expectation of the English Crown falling to Him. But this does not do the business: we can bring it yet nearer home then so; for in his Chap. XXIV. of *France*, speaking of *Henry I V.* King of *France*, he sayes that *Iam in declivi etate est, nec successorem nec uxorem habet*; He now begins to be an old man, and hath neither successor nor Wife. Now the time here pointed out, I conceive to be the year of our Lord 1599. or the following year, 1600. for in the first of these years King *Henry* was divorced from *Margaret*, his former Wife, and he married the year following *Catherine de Medicis*, by whom he afterwards had issue, *Lewis* the X I I I. &c. In one of these years therefore I suppose the Author to have written this book.

2. For the Use of it, we have here laid down, both in a Methodical and copious way, a perfect Model both of the Original, and Principles of Government. For here we are instructed both how Princes ought to treat their Subjects at home, and also how to manage their Affaires abroad, towards other Forreign Kingdomes and Republicks. We have here, as it were, a Political Glasse, wherein we have presented unto us a view of each particular Country, Province, Kingdom and Empire through the whole World; as also by what waies of Government, whether by strict Justice, or Lenity, a strait, or a loose Reine they are to be governed, and kept in obedience: as likewise the Causes of the Rise and Fall of each severall Kingdom, and Empire; together with the Dangers and Hazards they were exposed to, and the Advantages they had to boast of; and all this Illustrated and confirmed by several examples, taken both out of Profane, and Sacred Writers. Now although this be designed wholly, and modelled out, in reference to the Spanish Monarchy only, and the support of the Papacy; yet may all wise, Judicious men make very good use of the same, and apply what Counsells are here given the King of Spain, to their own Affaires.

For, if it be good counsel for the King of Spain to take, *To procure and maintain a perfect Union among his own subjects at home*; but on the Contrary, *To sow the seeds of Division among his Enemies abroad*: the same must be as good Counsel for the King of *France* also to take, or any other Prince, or Potentate what ever. If it be good Counsel to the Spaniard, *Never to trust so much to any peace made with an Enemy, as thereupon quite to lay aside his Armes*: it is altogether as good Counsel for any other Prince.

And.

The Translator to the Reader.

And the same may be said of any other of the General *Maxims* of Policy delivered here by our Author. But as for what in Particular concerns the Advancement of the Spaniard and his Designs, in order to the bringing about of his Universal Monarchy; whether the Rules by our Author laid down were in sufficient to do the business: or whether, though they were every way as full and proper as could be, yet having not been precisely observed, the business hath miscarried, and the Spaniard hath not as yet arrived, and perhaps now is never like to arrive to the end of his Desires; all this needs not hinder, but that thou shouldest look upon this Author, as a man of a most clear wit, & Judgment and prize him as one that was full of knowledge, and experience in the Affairs of the World, and a most industrious, and studious person.

In the Third and last place thou art to take notice, as concerning this *Translation*, that we have therein dealt so fairly and Ingenuously with our Author, as that we have perfectly and entirely preferred his own sense unto him, Neither have we stop't his foul mouth where he hath either used ill Language toward any of the Protestant Princes, or cast dirt into the faces of the first Reformers, *Luther, Calvin &c.* For to what end should we falsifie our Original, by making our Author more Civil then he had a mind to be? seeing we are never a whit the worse for being so miscalled by him, nor is he himself a jot the wiser for using us so. And to say the Truth, we our selves take the same Liberty towards them: and therefore, for ought I see,

Hanc Veniam petimus, & damus, vicissim.

We must even be content to allow each other this Liberty on both sides.

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The.



The Authors Preface.



The Universal Monarchy of the World, beginning from the East, and so coming at length to the West, having passed through the hands of the Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, (who were divided by the Imperial Eagle into Three Heads,) is at length come down to the Spaniard: upon whom, after so long Slavery, and Division, it is wholly conferr'd by Fate: and that with greater Splendour, then on any of his Predecessors: to whom also, according to the Vicissitude of Humane Affaires, it did of right belong.

Now although I had not any Intention to write any thing, touching either the Government, or the Enlargement of the Spanish Monarchy, which you, most Noble Alfonso, have desired me to do; yet being at length delivered from my Tedious Sicknesse, and my Ten years Afflictions, though I am utterly deprived of the help of any Books, and am, as it were, shut up as a Prisoner in this my Cell; I shall notwithstanding in a brief, and Compendious way, give your Lordship an account, what my Judgment is concerning this Subject; and shall give in the Causes of each several Point, in General first; not after a Natural, nor a Theological, but after a Political way: and shall afterwards also descend to treat more Particularly of the same.

Tho. Campanella.



A
DISCOURSE
TOUCHING
The Spanish Monarchy.

CHAP. I.

of the Causes of Humane Principalities.

IN the acquiring, and managing of every Dominion, and Principality, there usually concur three Causes; that is to say, *God, Prudence, and Occasion*: All which, being joyned together, are called by the name of *Fate*; which is nothing else, but a concurrence of all the *Causes*, working by vertue of the *First*. And hence also is *Fortune* sprung, which is the Successe of Earthly things, whether it be good, or evil; which, if it be rightly known, is called *Prudence*; but if otherwise, it is then called *Fate, Fortune, or Chance*. As for example, if a man find that which he had long sought after, it is called *Understanding, and Prudence*: but if he light upon a thing which he did not seek after, nor knew where it was, it is called *Chance, or Fortune*. Among these three Causes, One sometimes prevails in the ruling
B of

of things, more then Another; and perhaps more then the Other two. Yet notwithstanding, if we will confesse the truth, they are all Three Politically concurring in the businesse. Do but take notice of the Kingdome of the *Jewes*, wherein God was the Principal Agent; who, by sending *Moses* and *Aaron*, furnished out the Other Two Causes. For *Moses* was a person of extraordinary Wisdome, and Knowledge, not onely in Divine, but in Humane things also: for he was well versed in all the Learning of the *Egyptians*, and managed a War for King *Pharaoh* against the King of *Ethiopia*; whom he vanquished in the War, and whose daughter also he took to Wife, as both *Flavius Josephus*, and *Philo* testifie. And yet for all this he despised not the advice of *Jethro*, his Father-in-law, touching the taking in of a certain number of persons to assist him in the Administration of the Government over the People of *Israel*. And indeed They, being sore oppressed, and labouring under their *Egyptian* Slavery, took Occasion, by his means, of shaking that Yoak off their necks: whence they were inclined to hearken the more willingly to Him; and to follow him whither he would lead them; the Occasion also, taken from the Wickednesse of those of *Palastine*, concurring with their Inclinations. Besides, the Great Monarch of all the Earth, God, of his own accord, and free grace, gave Wisdom to his People; as he did likewise to the Apostles, and to the Bishop of *Rome*; which was also assisted by Occasion; which is nothing else, but to know how to make right use of the Time: whence followed the Division of the *Romane* Empire, but the utter Subversion of the *Jewish*.

Yet notwithstanding, where the Power of Man only appeared Outwardly, there was a concurrence and co-operation of the finger of God, though not so visibly seen. And thus the *Assyrians* for some secret Causes were possessed of the Monarchy of the World; which Causes notwithstanding have been sometimes apparent: as we see in *Nabuchodonosor*, whom God rewarded with the spoyles of *Egypt*, because he had made use of Him against the ingrateful *Hebrewes*, and against *Tyre*. And in *Isaiah*, God reproveth the King of the *Jewes*, for that, when by his aide his enemies had been slain and put to flight, He notwithstanding had ascribed all to his Own strength. Now the Occasion of this, was, the Wickednesse of the Nations, who were governed by no Prudence. In the Monarchy also of the *Medes*, the same Occasion

Occasion carried a great stroke in the businesse, when as God (as it appears out of *Daniel*) came forth upon the stage, and raised up *Arbaces*, the Præfect of *Media*, who was a very wise man, against *Sardanapalus*, who wallowed in all Luxury and Womanish delights. In the *Persian Monarchy* the Valour and Courage of *Cyrus* appeared, and *Media*, being destitute of a Successour for the Kingdome, afforded him the *Occasion* of shewing it: and God himself, in *Isaiah* calling *Cyrus*, his *Anointed*, instructed him how he should bring the Nations under his Yoake.

Who makes any doubt of the Prudence and Wisdome of *Alexander the Great*; and knowes not, that the Divisions of the *Grecians* at home, and the Loosenesse of Life that the Eastern Nations had at that time given themselves up unto, administred unto him an *Occasion* of making use of it. Wherein the Divine Power was most evidently manifested; for as much as, as the Prophet *Daniel* testifies, the Angel of the Kingdome of *Greece* laboured much in the businesse.

In the *Roman Empire* also, Prudence, and Valour, did very much; but *Italy's* being divided into several Common-Wealths, and the *Carthaginians* Factions among themselves, were the *Occasion*. And commonly to that Part that dissolves any great Empire, all the rest of the Principalities of the World do incline. And certainly God himself was the chiefeft Cause of the Prosperity of the *Romans*, because of their Moral Virtues; as it is proved by *St. Augustine*, in his book *De Civitate Dei*. Yet no place doth more evidently shew, what *Occasion* can do, then *Sicily*, at what time it called forth *Peter of Arragon* against those of *Anjou*; whence sprang the Proverb of those most famous *Vespers*. Although it cannot be denied, but that he was assisted very much in that Undertaking, not only by the Pope; but also by his own Innate Prudence. And truly, although Historians seldome make any mention at all of these Three Causes, yet the Books of the Kings of the *Jewes*, and the Successions therein laid down before us, do sufficiently confirm the same, and make it appear, that which way soever the *Prophecies*, and the *Valour* of the Persons inclined, that way also did the *Fortune* of the Kingdom look.

CHAP. II.

The Causes of the Spanish Monarchy.

He same *Three Causes* therefore have concurred in the *Spanish Monarchy*. For after that It had, by the Assistance of Almighty God, happily maintained War against the *Moors* for near 800. years space together, It at length brought forth such Valiant Commanders, and Souldiers, that being so fortified both by Strength and Prudence, and having overcome the *Barbarians*, they then turned their Armes another way, and proceeded on to greater Undertakings. And afterwards being, as it were by Divine Instinct, assisted by the Pope with a great Treasure of *Indulgences* and *Croisados*, and the King being also honoured by the Title of *Catholick*, that is to say, *Universal*, It arrived to so great a reputation and glory of *Valour*, that the *Genueses* were so much the more willingly and readily drawn in to their assistance in the making themselves Masters of the *New World*: And lastly, it is most certain, that whilst Wars were made with Launces, and Horses, the *Gaules*, *Goths*, and *Lombards* enlarged their Dominions; but when the Sword was the chief Weapon, the *Romans* then carried all afore them. But in after times, when *Subtlety* and *Craft* was of more Prevalence then *Valour*, and that *Printing*, and *Guns* were now found out, the Chief Power then fell into the hands of the *Spaniards*, who are a People that are both Industrious, Active, Valiant, and Subtle. For then did *Occasion* joyn the King of *Aragon* with *Isabella*, Queen of *Castile*, who had no Issue Male to succeed her: and at the same time also was added to him the Imperial Line of the House of *Austria*: to which likewise, through defect of Issue Male in the *Burgundian* Family, there was added a very considerable Inheritance of many Lordships, and Provinces in the *Low-Countries*, and in other places.

Then

Then followes the Discovery of the *New World*, made by *Christophorus Columbus*; and another accession also, by the joyn-
ing of the Kingdom of *Portugal* to *Spain*. All which rendred
the Monarchy of *Spain* both Illustrious, and Admirable, and
also, besides other things, made Her *Lady of the Seas*: to which
Advantages was also added the Troubled Condition of the
French, *English*, and *Dutch*, who were at Variance among them-
selves about certain Points of Religion: by which meanes the
Spania so easily arrived to this height of Power and Great-
nesse it now is in.

And the King of *Spain* might grow more Powerful yet, and
might attain to the Dominion of the Whole World, if he
would but endeavour the Overthrow of the *Turkish* Empire;
as *Alexander* heretofore did of the *Persian*, and the *Romans* of
the *Carthaginian*. For that Empire got up to this height, for
the Sins of the Christians; and the Angel of that People hath
yet the upper hand. For while the *Imperialists* have been at
variance with the *Pontificians*, the *French* with the *English*, the
Venetians with the *Genuefes*, God hath raised up the *Turks*,
and hath sent them into both Empires; because that the
Christians were too gently, and lightly punished for their
sins by the *Arabians*, *Tartars*, and other forreign Na-
tions; as I have already shewed in my *Papal Monar-*
chy.

And the *Turk* is the same to us at this day, who are so di-
stracted and divided by severall Heresies, that the *Assyrians*
were of old to the *Jewes*, who by faction were divided into
the Kingdomes of *Judah* and *Israel*; except the Good An-
gell of *Spain* afford us his assistance; as I have elsewhere
shewed.

CHAP. III.

Of the First Cause of Empires, namely
God.

IT is very evident, that neither *Prudence* alone, nor yet joyned with *Occasion*, is sufficient for the attaining to, or governing a Kingdome; for as much as we know, that the Freedom of the *Will* consists only in the *Will* it self, and not either in *Action* or *Passion*. For it may so fall out, that a man may over night purpose the next morning to go to Sea, or to study, or to go to plow, or to do any other businesse; and yet upon a sudden the falling of Rain, or unexpected tempestuous and foul weather may crosse that so wise counsel of his; so that he must be forced to do, not according to his own determination, but according as matters shall fall out. So that he that knowes how so to order his Counsels and Determinations, as that they shall alwaies be subordinate to the *Superiour Causes*, his affaires shall seldom fail of succeeding prosperously. Wisemen therefore make it their businesse to labour after the knowledge of these *Superiour Causes*, of God, and His Divine Will, on which the whole Chain, and Series of future things depends. And hence it is, that some have sought for God in the Stars; who hath also answered some by the Stars; as namely, the *Magi*, or Wisemen, at our Saviours Nativity. And perhaps a Rainy Morning may have done no hurt at all to this, or that Astrologer; because they foresaw this Rain, and so probably ordered their affaires accordingly, having regard to the Will of God herein; who, out of his singular goodnesse, will be found there, where we seek him with a sincere heart. Nay, when the businesse so requires, he answereth even those that do not seek him with a sincere heart: as we see in *Balaam*, whom he answer'd perhaps, when he was not askt. And so likewise in King *Saul*, who was informed by *Samuel*, what the Event of things should be, though he had by Witchcraft consulted the Divil, and not *Samuel*: as *Tho: Aquinas* also is of opinion, in his 2. 2. 4. 140. And therefore we also ought to believe, that the True God gave answer
to

to the Diabolical Superstitions of the *Romans*, *Gracians*, and *Chaldeans*, by the Ministry of the peculiar Angel of each of these several Empires. For the Inevitable Decree of his Will sometimes exalted, and again sometimes depressed and clouded the Majesty of those Monarchies. Therefore the *Chaldeans*, and so likewise the *Medes*, whensoever their own Wisdom failed them, made their Invocations upon God by the Stars; as the *Greeks* did by their Oracles at *Delphos*, the *Romans* by their *Anguries*, and *Observations of Birds*; and as the more Sound Philosophers sought Him in the Works of *Nature*: as *Pythagoras* also did in *Numbers*, which are as a certain Ray of Divinity, disseminated and diffused throughout the whole Universe. But much more rightly did the *Jewes* seek after him, by the *Prophets* which were sent unto them. Which custome of theirs the *Christians* also followed, when as the Archangel *Michael* had gone over from the *Jewes*, to the State of the *Christians*. For in all probability we ought to believe, that when any Empire is overthrown, the Angel of that goeth over to the Conquerour. And this is a Secret which was not unknown to the *Romans*, who for this very reason would not have their *Tutelar Angel* to be known, to the end that he might not be invoked by other Nations. And therefore we may probably believe, that either the Angel of *Persia* yeilded to that of *Greece*; or else, that He went over from the *Persians* to the *Greeks*: and so consequently, that the Angel of *Constantinople* does at this time fight for the *Turks*; or else, having removed his station, stands now for *Germany*, and hath joyned himself to Her Angel. Now where there are the more of these *Tutelar Angels*, There there is the greater growth, and stronger confirmation of Power. And therefore, being instructed hereto out of the Scriptures, I affirm, that if at any time God appear to treat either favourably, or else contrarily with any Monarchy, we are to understand this in reference, not to that present Monarchy only, but to the succeeding also. For, unlesse this were so, God should not have revealed the Knowledge of Future things to his Church by the *Prophets*; which is an absurd thing to believe: and it would also follow, that this Knowledge was to be sought for by the Stars, or some other things. Which things, seeing they are partly also forbidden by the Pope. we are necessarily to believe, that all things are otherwise sufficiently provided for.

Where-

Wheresoever therefore God speaks of the *Babylonish* Empire, we are to understand it as said also of the *Persian*, *Grecian*, and *Roman*, which in their turns succeeded It. And hence it is, that *St. John* calls *Rome*, *Babylon*. And so likewise what is said of the Kingdom of the *Jewes*, the same is to be understood also of the Church of *Rome*; which hath received the *Keyes of David*, and the Name of *Jerusalem*; according to that which is said to the Angel of *Philadelphia*: Now *Philadelphia* is, *Brotherly Love*; as *Roma*, *Rome*, by turning the Letters backward, is *Amor*, *Love*. And God oftentimes threatens his Church; *I will remove thy Candlestick out of its place, unlesse thou repent*. For in like manner the Angel of God may be said to remove from one Church to another, (as for example, from Heretical *England*, to Catholick *Borussia*) as from one Kingdom to another. And so what is pronounced by *Ezekiel*, *Jeremy*, and *Esay*, concerning the Prince of *Tyre*, is sometimes to be taken as spoken of the Prince of the Angels that fell from Heaven, and were cast out of their Kingdom there. Where that also which is said; *How art thou fallen, O Lucifer!* which is spoken of the King of the *Chaldaans*, is to be taken, as, by way of similitude, spoken of his Successors, and of the *Aerial* (so called) *Empire of the Great Devil*. For, both Empires, and all other Earthly things bear a similitude to the Heavenly; as those of the Sea do to them of the Land. Whence it is, that you have your *Bishop-fish*, your *Sea-calf*, and the *Calamary*, or *Sea-Clark*: for as much as all of them have their dependance from the *Prime Reason*, or the *Divine Idea*, which is, the *Eternal Word*. Whence I seem to my self to have found out a Key, by which I may find out a passage to the knowledge of the Original, Government, and end of the Kingdom of *Spain*, by the *First Cause*, which God hath laid open in the Prophets; and by which we may proceed on further, to discover the *Prudence* herein requisite, and the *Occasion*, which the *Spaniard* ought to lay hold on.

CHAP. IV.

*Of the Spanish Empire, considered according
to the First Cause.*

IT is evident, that the Prophecy concerning the end of the World, both according to Nature, and the Art of Policy, is shortly to be fulfilled ; being that the Fixed Stars of *Scorpio*, and *Taurus*, have changed their places, and the Sun is now ten thousand miles nearer to the Earth ; and so many Eclipses also appear , by reason of the Transposition of the Equinoctial Points ; which, according to the Opinion of *Plato* (though *Aristotle*, who was Ignorant in Deeper matters, and was skilled only in *Logick*, and such like *Quiddities*, denies the same,) do foretel Grand Mutations. These Exorbitances of the Heavenly Bodies, together with the Deluges, and devastations by Fire that have happened in all parts, as also the Changes that have happened in the greatest Monarchies of the World, according to the Gospel (wherewith *Seneca* also agrees in Opinion) are the evident signs, that the world is drawing to an end. For the Empire, or State of *Christianity* (and it is a thing very well worth our observing) hath lasted already 1600. yeares (and upward;) Which number, being Composed of *Sevens* and *Nines*, is fatal to all Monarchies, as both *Pythagoras*, and *Plato* have written; and as may be gathered also out of *Moses*, where he speaks of *Jubiles*, and *Weeks*; as likewise out of *Jeremy*, speaking of the *Sabbatisme* of the Holy Land ; and also out of the Art of *Physick*, touching the Cure of Fevers, and the difference of Complexions and Ages: and lastly, from a passage of *Augustus Caesar*, who in an Epistle of his to his Nephew, rejoyceth very much, that he had escaped the Sixty Third year of his age ; which year, seeing it is composed of nine Septenaries of years, is most dangerous and Fatal to people. And even God himself created all things in Number. Therefore this very time doth presage Enlargement, or Impair, and Mutations in all things. We see also, that the Prophecy touching the Monarchies drawes now near an end, seeing that *Balaam*, as it is recorded by *Mo-*

jes Num. Cap. 24, reckoning up the Monarchies, stops at that which concerns *Italy*, saying; *They shall come in ships from Italy and shall overcome the Assyrians, and in the end themselves also shall be destroyed.* In which place he speaks of the Monarchy of *Spain*; so that it is necessary that it must be ingrafted into that of *Italy*. And consequently also the Fate of *Tyre* may be understood of that of *Spain*: for as much as *Carthage* was a Colony of *Tyre*, and by reason of the frequent voyages they made thither by Sea to and fro, it followed the manners and fashions of the *Tyrians*. And hence are the *Spaniards* descended, who at first embracing and applying themselves to the Manners, subtleties, & Gods of the *Carthaginians*, and afterwards becoming Christians, were overwhelmed with all those evils, with which God in his Prophets, *Ezechiel*, *Jeremy*, and *Esay* threatens *Tyre*. And besides, they were very skilful also in Navigation, as those of *Tyre* were. And if *Spain* shall imitate the pride of *Tyre*, by extolling it self above the Church, as *Tyre* did, it shall suffer a sorer destruction then that did, neither shall it ever enlarge the bounds of its Empire. Neverthelesse before the end of the World, the *Spaniard* being joyned in amity with the Pope, shall live in a more happy condition, and shall raign securely and peaceably, holding Correspondence with the Church, and courting the Pope and the Cardinals, like the Daughter of *Tyre*, (as it is in the *Psalmes*, and *Esay*) with Gifts: neither yet shall he arrive to that Height of *Universal Monarchy* which he had aspired unto. But this is a businesse to be handled secretly, and not to be published openly to the World. And as concerning the *Spaniards* Ambition, I affirm, that while he complies with the House of *Austria*, he shall be humbled, for as much as *Isaiah* saith; *Onus Jumentorum Austri, the burden of the beasts of the South*; intimating, that He shall effect none of those things which I shall hereafter touch upon; that is, raiging in the condition he now doth; but shall be destroyed, as one overwhelmed by a Wall falling on him, like as *Tyre* was. And hence considering with himself the evill likely to befall him, he shall at length lift up his head, when he shall have called to remembrance, that after that the House of *Austria* was once inserted into that of *Spain*, the *New World* was presently discovered by his Agents, and he had thence returns of ships laden with gold, which are *Jumenta Austria*, those Beasts of *Austria*; & besides,

besides, that the Title of Monarchy, and this so great Principallitie of his began under *Charles V.* had he but known as well how to keep what he had got, as he knew how to get it. But because that neither in his time *Fate* answered the expectation of *Spain* we must therefore search the Scriptures more diligently, that we may discover when that time is to be; as a certain Politician said, and as we also, God willing, shall shew; that we may attain to that which they drive at. But I say, that the end of Monarchies is now come, and that we are now come to that Age, wherein all things are to be in subjection to the Saints; and to the Church; which is to be, after the end of the four Monarchies, and the death of Antichrist, who shall continue for the space of three Weeks and a half, according to the opinion of *Lactantius*, *Irenaus*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Victorinus*, *S. Bernard*, *Joachimus Abbas*, *Dante*, *Petrarch*, and some others, both Divines, Philosophers, Prophets, and Poets; as I have elsewhere shewed. *Daniels Image* also is fallen to the ground; so likewise the *Four Beasts*, the *Three Weekes*, and the *Twelve Feathered wings of the Eagle*, spoken of in the second Book of *Esdras*, are now all at an end, together with the *Roman Empire*; which seeing according to him, it is the same with that of *Babylon*, it is by succession divided into Three Heads; First, into the *Right Head*, which is the Western, or *German Empire*; then into the *Left Head*, that is, the Eastern Empire of the *Turks* and *Saracens*; and the Middle one, which is that of *Constantinople*. For in the Scriptures the *Right*, and *Left* hand of the World is otherwise assigned by *Moses*, then it is by *Aristotle* in his works. Now amongst these three Heads the Left, as the same Prophet testifies, hath devoured the middlemost; that is to say, the *Turkish Empire* hath destroyed the *Constantinopolitan*, to wit, in the time of *Mahomet the Second*. It now remaines, according to the same Prophet, that the *Right Head*, or *Western Empire*, devour the Left, that is, that of the *Turks*. And hereto agrees the Astrology of *Torquatus*, which saith, that *Hungary* threatens destruction to the *Turk*; and that the Empire of the Moon shall be divided betwixt Two Sons of the *Turkish Emperour*, that shall be the Fifteenth Emperour of *Turkey*; at which time the Moon shall be bowed into two Horns. And this star is indeed a very terrible one, and will make it appear, that he that shall conquer, and subdue the *Turkish Empire*, shall be Lord of the whole

whole Earth. The House of Spain then can never attaine to any great Monarchy, according to Fate ; but only by the adhering to *Italy*, & the *Roman* Empire, which is the *German*, & the *Right Head*. The King of Spain therefore is to use his utmost endeavour, that he may be chosen Emperour : seeing that not only God, but even Human Prudence also may inform us, that by that meanes he may attain to what ever his heart can wish. A beginning of which thing appeared plain enough in *Charles* the Fifth, King of Spain : who being also Emperour, and being assisted with the whole power of *Italy* and *Spain*, overcame those of *Tunis*, and the King of *France*, and conquered all *Germany* : in so much that *Solyman*, seeing the prosperous Fortune of this Prince, had good Cause to say, that it behooved him to take heed of *Charles* : neither would he, though he were stronger then He, fight with Him under the Walls of *Viennâ*. We see therefore that which way the *Fates* incline, the same also goes all the rest of the *Fortune* ; and so on the other side, all things must needs be successelesse, that are taken in hand under a *Reluctant Fate*. I shall here also open another Mystery, namely, that all Empires, according to the Prophecy of *Noah*, do descend from the Sons of *Japhet* ; God shall enlarge *Japhet*, and he shall dwell in the tents of *Sem*, and *Cham* shall be his Servant. And from *Cham* are to descend none but *Slaves*, and *Tyrants*, who are indeed *Slaves*; as I have elsewhere proved. Wherefore the *Turkish Empire* comes from *Japhet*, by *Magog*, and as to the *Law*, from *Sem* by the Line of *Ishmael*, from whom *Mahomet* descended ; as it hath allwaies been observed to fall out, that the Northern People which are fierce, and by the armes of *Japhet* still Victorious, have yet received Lawes and Rules from the wiser Southern People, who were the Offspring of *Sem*. And yet the Empire sometimes hath otherwise had a succession of Tyrants also, who have descended from *Cham*, though by the intervention of the *German*, who is descended from *Japhet* ; as the *Spaniard* himself derives his Line from *Japhet* by *Tubal* : like as concerning the *Law*, the *Roman* Christianity doth derive it self from *Sem*, in respect of Christ, who is a true *Sem*, by the Line of *Isaac*.

Seeing therefore *Dominion* was promised to *Japhet*, it belongeth chiefly to the *Spaniards*, who are more nearly, and by a firmer alliance descended from the Law-giver, then the *Turks* ;
and

and their Victorie drives on to this end, that they may dwell in the House of *Sam*, seeing that they possesse the Greatest part of *Italy*, by the Investiture of the Pope, who is descended from *Sam* : Of whom this is no fit occasion to say any more, although I willingly would do so, and indeed ought. I shall only add here, that they cannot, according to *Fate*, come to be Lords of all, unlesse they become the Deliverers of the Church, and set it free from out of the hands of the *Babylonians*, that is to say, of the *Turks*, and *Hereticks*. Upon this account they conquered the *Moors*, God bestowing upon them so great an Empire as their reward. Now it is evident, that the Church is in subjection to *Babylon*, as long as it is *Militant* : and I have formerly shewed elsewhere, that it doth yet retain the dayes of *Tuesday* and *Friday*, and the moneths of *August* and *July*, which were theirs of the *Roman Babylon* ; and the Church now suffers most grievous Persecutions under the *Babylonian* Infidels, both in *Africk*, *Asia*, and *Europe*, and especially in *Germany*, *France*, *England*, and *Poland*. This discourse therefore is to be listened unto with attentive eares, because that all the *Jewish* Affaires were a Type and figure of those of the *Christians*. He therefore, that shall deliver the Church out of these evils, shall become the Universal Monarch ; because He shall perform the Office of the Christian *Cyrus*, whom God shall raise up, as *Esay* saith, to subdue the whole World, to restore *Jerusalem*, to remove their Captivity, and to build a temple to the God of Heaven and Earth, wherein shall be set up the *Continual Sacrifice*, as is foretold by *Daniel*, *Esay*, and *Esdras*. *Cyrus* also was of the Linage of *Japhet*, by the *Medes* ; and notwithstanding that the *Turk* is descended of the same stock also, yet shall He not perform the Office, because that He is become an Enemy, by setting up another Contrary Law. The *French* in the time of *Charlemagne* arrogated this Office to themselves ; who by their often delivering the Pope out of the hands of the Princes of *Italy*, the *Lombards*, and the *Goths*, arrived to so great power, that they became formidable to all : and the said *Charlemagne* might have come to have been Universal Monarch of the World, had not his sons been at Variance among themselves, but had managed their Empire rightly, and as they ought to have done.

But the discords that were betwixt the Christians, and the following Heresy, raigning at this day, broke the neck of the *French* Empire ;

Empire; at least took away from it all hope of ever arriving to the height of so much greatnesse. But the *Spaniards*, by being continually rooting out of the *Moors*, became powerful; but contrariwise *Constantinople*, because it deserted the Pope, and adhered to *Arrius*, *Sabellius*, and others, came to destruction. The *Venetians* also have by the Popes meanes arrived to a great height, because that they assisted him against *Frederick*. So that it is manifest, that he that shall take any enterprize in hand, under a *Favourable Fate*, shall have all happy successe therein; but on the contrary, he that shall rush on upon any undertaking under a *Crosse*, and *Unwilling Fate*, shall find the Event also quite contrary to his desires. Which may also be demonstrated out of Reasons of Policy. For, he that maintaines the Popes Interest, maintaines the Universal Right of all Christendom, which depends upon the Pope. For this Cause is accounted both a Just, and a Religious one, and therefore all men will take it up. And the Opinion also of Religion overcomes all other causes; as we have already shewed elsewhere, and shall further shew hereafter. Add hereto, that the Pope is the Universal Moderator, and Judge of all things; to whom all people have their recourse, and yeild obedience to him, as to their God, and Deliverer; as on the contrary the *Sweden*, *Saxon*, and the *Constantinopolitan* Princes, as being enemies to, and Stubborn opposers of Him, are rejected, and deserted by them. Therefore the Office of *Cyrus* belongs to the King of *Spain*, who, being now honoured by the Pope with the Title of *The Catholick King*, may easily arrive to the Principality of the whole World; and we see that he hath already followed his Footsteeps, in having delivered the Church heretofore out of the hands of the *Moors* of *Granado*, as he hath lately done from the Hereticks of *England*, the *Low-Countries*, and *France*: and He maintaines besides with yearly Revenues so many Bishops, Cardinals, and Monasteries: and he hath also setled the *Daily Sacrifice* throughout the whole World: for as much as that every half hour, & indeed continually, the Masse is celebrated throughout his Empire: within the compasse whereof the *Roman Papacy*, the City of *Jerusalem*, and the Temple are contained. Neither doth it ever Sleep in his Empire. For seeing that the Sun being carried about in his Course from *Spain*, to *Brasile*, the Straites of *Magellan*, the *Philippine Islands*, *Japan*, *China*, *Archipelagus Lazari*, *Calecut*, *Gon*, *Bengala*, *Ormuz*, the *Cape of Good hope*, the Sea Coast of *Africk*,
 and

and the *Fortunate Islands*, till it comes back again to the same *Spain*, there is no hour of the day but it enlightens some part of His Dominions; there is no question but that there are continually Sacrifices offered up to the God of Heaven and Earth. It is certainly a very wonderful thing, and a most evident Sign, that this Kingdom of his is diffused to a vast distance, wherein Prayers are continually offered up for the Church, and the King, together with what *Stupendous Sacrifice*; which, both according to the Truth, and the Opinion of Men, is of no mean Efficacy in the hearts of his Subjects. Whence I affirm, that the King of *Spain*, following the Order of Things, and by observing the Rules of *Prudence*, together with *Occasion*, may bring all things under his Obedience; as it shall be made appear out of the Reasons hereafter following. For this is already evident, that he engages in the same Interest with that of the *German Empire*, which is the same with that of *Italy*, which is the same with that of *Rome*, of *Greece*, and of *Persia*, or the Empire of *Cyrus*, and so consequently of that of *Media* and *Babylon*. And he shall have the Assistance of many several Angels, as that of *Cyrus*, and of *Michael*; and afterwards all things shall be delivered into the hands of *Gog* and *Magog*; But the *Christians* shall overcome: and then shall Christ come to Judge the World. And then shall the end be. But the Eclipse, and the Great Conjunction in *Sagittary*, which is the *Constellation of Spain*, will discover many secrets, when I shall have opportunity to discourse of the same.

CHAP. V.

of the Second Cause, , namely Prudence:

EOr as much as *Prudence* is required in the managing of all Humane things, (which is a Cause adjoynd to *Fate*, consisting of an infinite number of *Joyned Causes*, acting by vertue of the *Prime Cause*), so especially it is necessary in the managing of an Empire: by It the whole World is governed; and it is disseminated by God through all the Universe. For *Nature* is an *Intrinfecal, Divine Art*: and whosoever shall follow *Nature* as his

his guide, he is wise ; which appears evidently in Plants, Ants, Bees, Cranes, and the very Fishes themselves ; which small Creatures do oftentimes afford Instruction even to Men, in the managing of their Dominions. Whence we are to understand that *Prudence* is a different thing from *Craft* ; which is called by some, *Ratio Statuum regendorum*, the Reason, or Rule of State-Government. For *Prudence* is agreeable to the *Prime Cause*, namely God ; whence it searcheth into Prophecies, and Divine Sciences, to the end that it may attain to the knowledge of things to come. But *Craft* seeks after its own satisfaction, and Pleasure only, and is Pleased with nothing more then the subtlety of its own Wit ; Which notwithstanding, though falsely, calls it self *wisdom* ; according to what was spoken by *Pharaoh*: *Venite, Sapienter opprimamus eos* ; Come on, let us deal wisely with them. *Prudence* is Magnanimous, and Proposeth to it self onely such things as are truly of most difficult *Atchievement*. But *Craft* is pusillanimous, and sneaking : yet that it may appear to be Magnanimous, It puts on the garbe of Pride, and would fain seem to reach at high matters, but alwayes out of the way of Vertue ; and it flies at mean things, such as are scarcely of any value at all. *Prudence* is addicted to Clemency, and Truth ; but *Craft* is Cruel, and given to Flattery. Whence the *Crafty* Princes saying is, that the *Nobles*, the *Wise*, and the *Valiant* are to be made out of the way, least happily they should wrest the Scepter out of his Hand. *Quicquid excelsum est, cadat* ; was the saying of *Nero*, and *Periander* ; whatsoever is High, you must down with it. But *Prudence* makes use of the Assistance of such, for the establishing of its own Kingdom : as we read that the *Honest Pharaoh*, (who differed much from the other *Crafty Pharaoh*) made use of the service of *Joseph*. And this is the Rule also of the Pope, who is wont to advance such as are Wise, and Learned persons, to the dignity of being Cardinals. The *Crafty* Prince studieth how to find out deceitful tricks, and fraudulent devises, to impose upon his Subjects : But the *Prudent* looks after advantageous, and useful Arts, and such as may encourage his people, and make every one of them the more ready for the discharge of his duty : as we see in *Numa*, who, that he might render Himself the more Venerable, and worthy of esteem to the People of *Rome*, found out for them, and established a Form of Religion, and Sacred Rites, that so by this meanes He might the better make them contain themselves

selves within the Bounds of their Duty and Obedience. *Prudence* is a Vertue that becometh Kings and Emperours ; but *Craft* is fit only for *Davusses*, and *Slaves*. *Prudence*, while it loseth, is a gainer ; (as we may observe of *St. Peter*, and from the practise of the Pope at this day,) and the more inwardly we are acquainted with it, the more fervently we love it ; Whereas *Craft*, while it gaines, is a loser ; and the better it is known, and seen into, the more it is hated. As wee see it was in that wicked Disciple of *Matthiawell*, *Cesar Borgia*, who by his *Crafty*, Politique Tricks, lost the Principality of *Flaminia*, (which is now called *Romania*;) and in *Tiberius* also, and *Nero* : who by their Finesses, and *Crafty* designments darkened, and cast a cloud over the Majestie of the *Roman* Empire, which had been rendred so resplendent and Illustrious before, by the *Prudent* Management of *Augustus* *Caesar*: The *Prudent* Prince proposeth to himself the good of the Publique only ; but the *Crafty* looks onely after his own Private gain. The *Prudent*, that he may accomplish his desires, shewes himself *Valiant* even almost to Rash adventuring : as *Columbus*, *Caesar*, *Alexander*, and *Cyrus* did : and withall *Liberal* also, even to a seeming degree of Prodigality. and lastly *Just*, yet with a Moderation in his Severity. And therefore when he gets any thing, he bestowes it all upon his Subjects, that so he may oblige them to him by Benefits, and may make them faithful and true unto Him. Neither yet is He so free in his gifts to them, as that they shall never have need of him more. But when He hath once attained to what he laboured for, he then becomes more thrifty, and looks about him, and considers how he may maintain his own State ; least otherwise He should be forced by the necessity of imposing upon his Subjects Unusual Taxes, to gain their ill will, and lose their Affections ; which was *Caligula's* Case heretofore ; who, after that he had in riotous courses fool'd away all his own Estate, was necessitated presently to snatch away other mens. Certainly, whosoever takes in hand any high and difficult Attempt, under the Assistance of a *Favourable Fate*, he must necessarily be Couragious and daring ; and indeed every Great, and Memorable Enterprize requireth a certain Extraordinary *Valour* and *Conrage* ; which yet in case the successe should not be answerable, would be called Rashnesse.

As for example, it was accounted a *Bold undertaking* in *Columbus*, to go in search of a *New World*; but plain *Rashnesse* in *Ulysses*: only because the one escaped safe; but the other suffered shipwrack. But when a Prince hath effected his desires, he must then have an eye to the uncertainty of Fortune, and must therefore take heed how he is too bold and daring; the observing of which Counsel being neglected by *Charles the Fifth*, was the cause of bringing to nothing all that he had atchieved before in *Germany*; for he did not take the same wise Course to preserve what he had gotten, as he had done in the getting of it. And the case was the same also with the great *Julius Caesar*. And then again, in war there is a necessity of using severity, that so the Souldiers may all be kept to their several duties; and besides, those that perform any Signall peices of Service, are to be rewarded accordingly: which Course unlesse it be taken, they will begin to spurn at the Government, and break out into seditious wayes: (as *Tiberius* his Army did, when it was in *Germany*) and will fall to an insolent course of Plundering, and robbing: and so by these meanes will bring the Victory they had gotten before, to nothing: as it happened to *Conradinus* the *Swevian*, and *Charles of Anjou*.

Therefore after any Conquest gotten over a Kingdom, the Conquerour must modestly use his Victory, and endeavour to please the People; For otherwise he will alienate their affections from himself; and they will be apt upon all occasions to invite in his Enemies to fall upon him; as it happened to *Rehobam*, and *Charles of Anjou* in *Sicily*; and to the *Carthaginians* after the First *Punick War*; and to *Accolinus*, against whom his subjects, the Citizens of *Padua*, shut their gates; as likewise to *Nero*, who, though Prince of it, was yet called, *The Enemy of his Country*. And although many *Crafty Practises* are now in use among Princes, for the keeping of their Subjects in due obedience; yet I dare boldly affirm, that they will in the end prove destructive to those Princes. For we see that *Tiberius*, that *Grand Artificer* of *Subtleties* and *Craft*, was miserably hated by his Subjects, and so led a very sad life, because he found he was not loved by any body, so that he was faine to put some or other every day to death, as contemners of his Majesty, and so to be ever of a troubled, disquieted mind: which certainly may better be called a Death, then a life. Therefore the highest,
and

and most advantageous *Crafts* that a Prince can make use of, is, to shew himself Beneficent, Religious, and Liberall toward his Subjects ; yet this in so moderate a way, as that by this means he give them not occasion to despise him : as happened to Pope *Celestine* the Fifth.

But let us now proceed to those things, that more Particularly concern *Spain*.

As I have before shewed by Divine Reasons, that there can be no Universal Monarchy among the Christians expected, save that of the Pope : and have also declared how he is to be dealt withal ; so I shall now prove by Reasons of Policy, that there can be no Monarch in the Christian World, unless he have his dependance upon the Pope. For certainly, what Prince soever hath any other that is superiour to Him, though in Religion onely, and not in point of *Armes*, as the *Pope* is, he can never attain to an Universal Monarchy. For, whatsoever He shall take in hand, it will be successelesse ; and he shall be, as it were, crushed in pieces by the superiour. For, All Religions, as well the False, as the True, do prevail, and are Victorious, when they have once taken root in the Minds of men ; upon which onely depend both their Tongues and *Armes*, which are the onely Instruments of attaining Dominion. Thus we see that *Julius Caesar*, when any were created Consuls, if the *Pontifex Maximus* came and sayd, *They were not created Rightly*, they were presently by him put by : and so, whensoever he was to enter into a fight, if the *Augurs* said, that *The Pullen would not eat their meat*, he forbore to go on ; and did onely what he was directed to by their *Omen*. And therefore when the same *Caesar* had fallen upon a resolution of making himself A Monarch, he opposed *Cato* as much as possibly he could, and endeavoured by all possible meanes to be chosen to be the *Pontifex Maximus*. Which when he had once attained unto, he acted another way, and took upon himself all the Martiall Offices that were to be administred by the sword, that so he might drive on his designs the more securely ; and withal by his gifts obliged all the Souldiery so to him, as that they refused not to bear arms for Him, even against their Country, and to assist him in his designs of changing the Government of the state. So in like manner *Cyrus* would be called by the Title of Gods *Commissary*, that so no Prophet might pretend to be greater then
D 2 Himself.

Himself. And *Alexander* the great would be accounted the son of *Jupiter Ammon*, for the very same reason. It is also very evident, that no Monarchy in the Christian World hath arrived to the Height, by reason of the obedience which is due to the *Pope*. And hence it is that *Mahomet*, when he aspired to a Monarchy, brought in first a *New Religion* which was quite different from what was before. For *Armes* cannot effect any thing against *Religion*, if they be overmaster'd by another more powerful *Religion*, though a worse, if so be it be but entertained by the People. For as much therefore as there is no more powerful *Religion* found in the World, then that of the *Roman Christian*, it is evident that neither *Spain*, nor *France* can attain to any greater Dignity then It. And hence it was, that *Charles the Great*, when he had a design upon the Universal Monarchy of the World, took upon himself the Title of being *The Protector of the Pope*: and indeed so long as he stood up in a defence of Christianitie, he became Great.

If the King of *Spain* therefore do in like manner aspire to the same Height, it is necessary that he frame some *New Religion*; but this, neither God nor Reason permits him to do. For First, this is never to be done, but in the very Infancy, and beginning of a Kingdom; as you may see in the examples of *Mahomet*, *Romulus*, and *Pythagoras*; for otherwise he must needs come to ruine, by changing the *Auspicia Regni*, the *Fortune* of the Kingdom, as I may call it, whose dependance is from *Faith in Christ*; and then the People will immediately betake themselves to their *Armes*, and revolt from him. Neither indeed have any Monarchies been either more certainly, or more miserably brought to destruction, then when they have changed their Religion; as is testified by Histories. And then again, the *Pope*, and the rest of the Princes of Christendom would joyn their whole strengths together, and would in a very litle time root him out of his Kingdom of *Naples*, *Millan*, and consequently also of the *New World*, & the rest of his Dominions. And although these things were not done to *Henry the VIII of England*, nor yet to the Duke of *Saxony*, because their Territories were encompassed within small, though well fortified Bounds; yet for all that did they fail of succession, and so their States went away from them. And we have examples hereof also in *Ieroboam*, *Iehu*, *Iulian* the

the Apostate, and others; who, for having changed their Religion, incurred the hatred of their People, and brought destruction upon themselves.

Unlesse we shall say, that the *Pope* hath no power at all in Temporal things, nor is any whit above either any other of the Bishops, or theirs Surrogates or Chaplains, in Authority or degree; which is evidently contradictory to Gods Ordination, by which He hath been constituted a *Regal Priest*, and hath been armed with both the Swords, as well the Civill as the Spiritual. For, were it otherwise, Christ should be a very mean Law-giver, and should be lesse then *Melchisedech*, who was both King, and Priest together; which addeth both the greater Majesty, as well as security to any Kingdom; as I have proved in my Treatise Touching *Monarchy*, against *Danie*, who, looking only upon the Priesthood of *Aaron*, allowes to the *Pope* nothing but *Spiritualties*, and *Tithes* only. And which is more, this impugneth also all *Reasons of Policy*; because the *Pope* can never want those that will take up Armes in His defence, (in case He should not be able to defend Himself) and that either by being moved thereunto through Zeal to Religion; as the Countesse *Matilda* did against the Emperour *Henry*; or else out of Emulation, or some interest of Faction; as it was in the Case of the *Venetians* making war upon the Emperour *Frederick*, whom they compelled to kisse the *Popes* Foot: or for both these reasons; as when King *Pipin*, and *Charles* the Great took up Armes in assistance of the *Pope* against the *Lombards*, and others who waged war against him. Thus we see that the *Constantinopolitan* Empire came to be destroyed for the Apostasy of *Julian*, and *Constantius*: in like manner as all the *Fredericks*, *Henries*, and other Kings also of *Naples* suffered for the same Cause, as often as they denied their Obedience to the *Pope*. And certainly the Opinion, and Beliefe which hath prevailed upon the Minds of all People touching the *Christian Religion*, is of very great force; and moves them to defend It to the utmost of their power; so that whensoever the *Pope* hath excommunicated any Prince, He doth at the same instant ruine him also. Do but observe, I pray you, to what state *Ferraria* is reduced at this day. But we have discoursed more copiously of this in the Treatise of *Monarchy*.

It is, lastly, against all Policy too; for the *Pope* withholds the rest
of.

of the Princes of Christendom from invading *Spain*; as he doth the King of *Spain* from invading them, by continually composing their differences; in like manner as he divided *India* betwixt the *Portugals* and the *Spaniards*; and thus hath several times made peace betwixt the *Spaniards* and the *French*, *Venetians*, and *Geno-waies*; and so likewise betwixt *Pisa* and *Florence*; which yet he would not so easily be able to do, by the meer Reverence they bear to Religion. For here in these Cases they have an eye as well to the force of Armes, as to Religion; for He that is in the wrong Cause, may justly suspect the *Popes* joyning of his strength to that of his Antagonist; and so for this reason he will the more readily obey the *Popes* Injunction; as I have declared formerly in the forementioned Treatise. And the King of *Spain*, if he but declare himself for, and stand up in the defence of the *Pope*, shall be sure to have alwayes the assistance of His Forces at his devotion at any time, which will be a good means of confirming his Kingdom to him. And therefore I conceive it very necessary, according to the Fate of Christendom, that if the King of *Spain* would arrive to an Universal Monarchy, He must declare himself publicly to have his dependance from the *Pope*, and command it to be published all abroad throughout the World, that himself is the *Cyrus* that was before typified, and the *Catholick* King, that is, the Universal Monarch of the World, declaring this his Monarchy by his Religious Counsels, and pious Actions; and passing also by many litigious Controversies which he hath with the *Pope*; and dwelling in the Tents of *Sem*, making it appear to all the World, that He is the Chief Defender of Christian Religion, that depends wholly upon the *Pope* of *Rome*; calling together also the Christian Princes, to consult about the recovery of those Countreys they have lost, and are at this day in the hands of *Heresicks*, and *Turks*; and He must proceed to the causing of such to be excommunicated, as shall deny their assistance herein; and lastly he must also take care that Pious, and diligent Preachers be sent abroad into the World to promote this businesse. For the Plain truth of it is, that the *Pope* picks quarrels sometimes with the King of *Spain* for no other reason, but only because he is afraid, that in case he should subdue the King of *France*, and the Princes of *Italy*, hee would then make Him only as his Chaplain. And this is the reason, why He desires, that they should alwayes be

at variance one with another ; that so , in case either of them should fall off from Him, by reason either of Apostasy, or some quarrel or other, He might have the other to assist him. And this is the reason why he stirred up the Western Empire against the Eastern; onely because they had forsaken their former Religion, & had had many Clashings with the Pope about It. But now if King *Philip* will but do that which is his duty, (as is before declared) and will but give way to the *Pope* in some things which he pretends His Right, and will besides send some Bishops, and Cardinals into the *Belgick* Provinces, and to the *New world*, to dispose of, and order things there ; he will by this meanes both free the *Pope* from this suspition, and shall withall effect his own desires : seeing that it is evident, that the *Pope*, by his *Indulgencies* and *Croisados*, brings him in more mony, then those Dignities which he bestowes upon Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Ecclesiastical Persons, do yearly stand him in; so that he will be a gainer in that, wherein he is affraid most of being a loser. And this he would quickly confesse, if he would but cause it to be publickly preached and proclaimed abroad, that the end of the World is at hand, and that the time is now come, when there is to be *one Sheepfold*, under *One Shepherd*, that is, the *Pope* ; and that Himself is another *Cyrus*, whose Office it is to see these things brought about, and to gather all the Flock into that *One Sheepfold* ; and that what Nation, or Kingdom soever shall refuse to yield Him obedience, shall be brought to destruction ; and many other things, which I had rather deliver by speech, then writing.

There are many Causes to be laid open, whereby the King of *Spain*, as well in reference to *Prudence*, *Power*, and lastly *Prophesy*, may be rendered Admired by all the World. For, whether all these things do joyntly incline, there necessarily must the Empire follow. And seeing that this height of Dignity is to be attained unto, under the Fortune, and Interest of the Empire of *Italy*, which is now called the *German* Empire ; there is a necessity that the King of *Spain* should labour by all possible meanes to reduce that Empire under his power. And the better to effect this he must deal with the *Pope*, that he would denounce the most direful Curses that may be, against the Three *Protestants Electors* of the Empire ; threatning them withall, that unlesse they return to the Church of *Rome*, He will deprive them of.

of their Electoral Dignity, which they received from the *Pope* onely ; and that seeing they now affirm, that the *Pope* is *Antichrist*, they shall be convinced out of their own words, and made to see, that themselves are *Antichristians* : and that therefore they ought of themselves to lay down that Dignity of theirs, unlesse they will recant, and again admit of the *Catholick Beliefe*. And to this end the *French, Italians, and Spaniards*, being first all reconciled and made friends by the *Pope*, are to joyn their whole Forces together, and to go against them; (which certainly would much promote this businesse) and having overcome them, they must utterly extirpate all the Sects that have raigned among them, and send in new Colonies into their places. And this expedition is so easy a one, that *Charles* the Fifth himself might have been able to have effected it alone. But whereas the *Free Cities* of *Germany* do in no wise desire to hear of any such Empire, or *Universal Monarchy*, lest so They should be reduced into their ancient servitude again; and also because they are very slow in their Deliberations, and as slow also in the Execution of them; it would therefore very much advance this design, if the rest of the Princes of Christendom, joyning their Forces together, would suddenly fall upon them; Which businesse when it should be over, the most Potent, or most Forward of those Princes should be chosen *Electors* of the Empire, by the Apostolical Authority of the *Pope*, whether they were *Germans, Italians, or Spaniards*; or else they might be chosen by *Lot*, when the most potent of the Christian Princes should meet together in a Solemne Convention. And although the Universal Empire of Christendom might easily by these meanes be translated to *Spain*; yet it would be sufficient to do the businesse, if but any one King of *Spain* would so order the matter, that Himself might be but chosen Emperour; who should then immediately march into *Germany* with a good Army, and should instantly subdue it, while it is at so great discord and variance within it self, both in point of *Religion*, and of *State*. And this Expedition he ought speedily to go upon, and that under a Pretext of marching for *Hungary*.

These things I say, that all People might take notice, how much it concerns the Interest of the King of *Spain*, that he endeavour the attaining to the Empire of the World by the means of the *Pope*.

And

And indeed his being Dignified with the Title of the *Catholic*, or *Universal King*, shewes plainly, that this is the will of the *Holy spirit*, speaking by the Clergy.

CHAP. VI,

How the Clergy are to be dealt withal.

BUt it is not sufficient that we have the Clergy on our side ; but we are further to labour that at length we may get a *Spaniard* to be elected *Pope*, or rather, one of the house of *Austria* ; seeing it is evident, that whensoever the *Pope* pronounceth his *Oracle* for this House, He doth thereby raise it withall ; and on the contrary ; He casts a cloud upon it, and keeps it under, whensoever He declares against it. Which the Kings of *France* observing, they have endeavoured with all their might, that the *Pope* should remove his Seat, and go and live in *France*. And so we know that when the *Oracle* at *Delphos* began once to speak on *Philip* side, King of *Macedon* : He presently, what by his Politick Stratagems, and what by Pretense of Religion, arrived to the Monarchy of all *Greece*.

In the Determinations also concerning Differences in Religion, it behoves the King of *Spain* to be the most Active of any in the managing of the same ; and indeed to take a greater care, and to be more Vigilant herein, then the *Pope* himself. Whence we see, that *Philip*, King of *France*, did alwaies in a manner, as it were, command *Pope John* the XXII. as being himself more Zealous then the *Pope* was, in defending, and propagating that decree of the Church, namely ; *That the Saints in Heaven do see the Essence of God, even before the last day of Judgment.*

There must also alwaies some Novelty or other, tending to Christian Religion, be set on Foot ; such as are the *Canonizations* of Saints, the changing of the Names of *Holy Dayes*, & of *Moneths*, & other the like things, by transferring them to Christian Worship ; by which means He shall keep busy the heads of the Prelats

as much as he can, and so shall thereby the more confirm his own Authority among them. He ought besides to oblige the Chief of the Clergy to himself by the most commodious Arts that he can ; as namely, by sending into the *Low-Countries*, and the like suspected places, Cardinals, and Bishops, to be Governours there ; for the People would much more readily and chearfully obey the commands of such, then they will the severity of the *Spaniard* ; and such Prelates would, also adhere more to Them. Neverthelesse in the mean time they ought to have as subordinate to them, some Military Commanders, with Force too. And besides, He ought, by the *Papes* consent too, to send abroad such Cardinals, as are either *Spaniards* born, or at least of the *Spanish Faction*, into the parts of the *New world*, and all other far remote Places, to rule and exercise Monarchical Power there ; which would be a businesse of high advantage to Him. He must also bestow on all Wise Men, and such as are the most Skilled in matters of Religion, greater gifts, then the *Pope* himself doth ; that so He may have them at his devotion, whensoever He shall have need of them. He must make choice of, and take into all His Higher Councils two or three of the *Religious*, either *Jesuits*, *Dominicans*, or *Franciscans*, that he may bind the Clergy the faster to Himself, and that his Councillours may be the more Circumspect, and may in their Determinations have more Authority. In all Wars that he takes in hand, every one of his Chief Commanders must have an Adjutant joyned to him out of the Clergy ; for by this meanes the Souldiers will hearken to their Commands with the more Reverence ; neither is any thing to be done, without their being first acquainted therewith. But especially the Stipends of all Poor Maimed Souldiers are to be distributed to them by the hands of those of the Clergy ; for this is the Misery of *Spain*, that they pay their mony, and know neither how, nor to whom. And by this meanes under the Banner of Religion, He shall both make the *Pope* more firm to him, and shall also establish his own Empire ; and so complying with *Divine Fate*, He shall raigne the more happily, and be the more Fortunate. Neither ought He ever to commend to the *Pope* for Ecclesiastical Dignities and Preferments, such persons as are not fit for the same ; that so He may have the greater credit with the *Pope*, and that those Persons, whose wisdom and parts He hath commended to him, may be the

the more approved, and esteemed. He must always likewise be making Proposals, and laying down the ways by which the Infidels are to be set upon : and he must be earnest with the Pope, that he proclaim that all such Princes are worthy to be deposed, that shall any way impede, or hinder such Religious Expeditions. He shall do well also to build *Hospitals, Almshouses*, and the like Charitable Places, which, as they are profitable, and give encouragement to the Souldiery, so may they serve also as so many Seminaries, both for Souldiers and Artificers for the contriving of Engines for war ; in which Houses, Maimed Souldiers and Engineers may be carefully lookt unto, and may also have Indulgencies proposed unto them, as shall be shewed hereafter. He must also be sure, that whatsoever Expeditions He shall undertake, they shall be approved of by the Pope ; that so they may be commended by all Christians, and also that the *Craft* of the *Spaniard* may be the lesse suspected ; and that the Pope also himself may be the more engaged to see the same brought to good effect. He must declare also to the World, that He conceives the Right of Empire to consist, not in Armes alone ; (contrary to the Opinion of the Roman *Scipio*, who being askt by a certain *Spanish* Commander, What Right he had to *Spain* ? answered him, only by shewing him the Armie he had brought against it ;) but in the Auspicious *Fa'e* of Christianity. According to what *Jephtha* answered, when he was askt the same question ; *Jud. 11. 24. Wilt not thou possesse that which Chemosh thy God giveth thee to possesse ? So whomsoever the Lord our God shall drive out from before us, them will we possesse.* Whatsoever therefore the *Spaniard* getteth under the Victorious Banner of Christ, it is his own Right. And this I speak in reference to the *Spaniards* Subduing of the *New World*, which is blamed by so many. For seeing that the *Indians* had Violated the *Law of Nature*, the King of *Spain* invading them upon the Interest of the *Christian Religion*, (whose Handmaid the *Law of Nature* is) their Country is his lawful possession ; in like manner as *Moses* seized upon the *Holy Land*, after that the iniquities of the *Amorites* were once grown full ; So also the *Turkes* having possessed themselves of *Constantinople* under the Conduct and Fortune of *Mahomet*, for our sins, they possesse it now as their own Right, as if *Chemosh* had given it them, But neither are all

all meanes of recovering that Empire again denied us therefore; when as we shall have repented of that sin, which was the cause that we lost it; namely, the Discord of the Christian World. For then the Angel of that Empire, which now defends, and takes care of It, not for that false *Macon's* sake, whom It invokes; but by reason of the just Judgment of God, shall come over unto Us.

And these Arguments are of very great moment for the defending, or (as I may better call it) the Justifying of those Expeditions; the justice of which, *Lactantius* especially, *lib. de Justitia Dei*, and *Cajetan* 2^a. 2^a. and some other of our later Writers understood not.

But now, it seems to me very expedient, for the inducing of the *Pope* to stand wholly for the King of Spain, and that the *Fate of Christianity* may advance His Monarchy, if that King *Philip* would promise the *Pope*, that He, (whereto the rest of the Christian Princes should give their assent,) would observe inviolably that Constitution of the Emperour *Constantine*, wherein he affirms, That in all Causes, and from what Powers and Courts of Judicature soever, *Appeales* may be made to the Tribunals of the Bishops; who are called by Him, *Angeli Dei*, Gods Angels; and *Dei terrestres*, Gods on Earth.

For when the *Pope* shall once find this promptnesse, and readinesse of Mind in him, He cannot chuse but alwaies be a friend unto him. Neither can this be any diminution at all of the Dignity of the King: for the rest of the Christian Princes will never give their consent hereto, without all doubt; and so all businesses will be betwixt the *Pope* and Him onely to be managed. But in case that They should also give their assents to this, all Causes would presently be put necessarily into the *Popes* hands; so that the King of *Spain* having united his Monarchy to the *Popes*, He should that way also have Dominion over the rest.

And that this may not prove prejudicial to him, He may erect some kind of Supreme Council, and Court of Judicature, into which there shall be admitted Two Bishops, and His own *Confessor*; and Himself also, as a Clergy Man, shall have a Power of Voting there, (for as much as the Kings Eldest Son is alwaies to be initiated into the Order of the Clergy:) and to this

this Council there should be liberty of *Appeal*, as from all other Tribunals, so from that even of the Bishops also, in case they shall oppress either their own, or the Kings Subjects. For by this means, the King shall in effect be the sole Judge, not onely of all other Courts, but even of that of the Bishops too; as being Himself one of the Holy Order of the Clergy.

And by this means He shall evade that dangerous opinion of *D. Rota*, who sayes, that *The Kings Subjects, when they are hardly dealt withal by the Prelats, may appeal to the Supreme Council of Spain.* Which Assertion is certainly both an unworthy, and an Heretical one, and is of dangerous consequence also to the King; for it tends to the rendring Him odious to his people, and diminisheth rather, then encreaseth His Authority; as we find it testified by daily Experience. Or else, it may indeed be desired at the Popes hands that it should be so; and it may also be declared, that the King is willing to yield, that in all Causes whatsoever there should be Appeals to the *Pope*, if so be that it may be but every where allowed to appeal first to a Council of Three Bishops: or else, that Appeals in all Causes of the Laity shall come at length to the *Pope*, but passing first by degrees, through a Council, consisting of two Bishops, and the King; and so to be referred afterward to a General Council; and last of all to come to the *Pope*: for, Appeals from General Councils are very seldome heard of; and besides, the very Name of a Council is hateful to the *Pope*. So that in conclusion, the determination of all Causes will alwaies rest with the King; who by this means shall be a Gainer, where he seems to be a Loser.

CHAP. VII.

*What may be further added, concerning Prudence,
and Opportunity.*



Hat *Prudence* ought in the first place to agree in all things with *Divine Fate*, hath already been shewed: it remaineth now that we speak of all the rest of the parts of *Prudence*; and shew, whitherto all its Vertues, and especially *Opportunity* ought to be referred: for as much as it is the property of *Prudence*, to know how to make use of *Occasion*. We have already also declared, upon what Interests, and under what Confederacy with the *Pope*, the Monarchy of *Spain* ought to proceed; at least, as far as was fit to be committed to writing: for the most secret *Arcana*, and Mysteries of State are not thus to be made Publick. It is therefore Manifest, that the *Occasion* which the King of Spain hath, consists chiefly in this, that his Neighbouring Enemies are weak, and at discord among themselves touching both Points of Religion, and matters of State: but his Remoter Enemies are more Powerful; so that these, if his weaker Neighbours were once overcome, seem the more easily conquerable. The *Spaniard* hath besides a Notable *Occasion* from the Extraordinary advantage of *Navigation*, and by his having Dominion in all places round about the whole Earth in a Circle. And it seems to me, that the attaining to the Empire of the whole World is a very feasible businesse for Him to bring about, if there could be such an Uniting of things together by degrees, as I shall shew hereafter, according to the General Rules of *Politick Prudence*: Where we shall at length come to Particular Actions, examined according to Nearer, and Remoter Relations. But first of all the Politick Relation of Spain at home is to be strengthened; and afterwards the Forrain is to be looked after. Thus therefore I proceed on to the businesse.

CHAP. VIII.

The Causes by which the Spanish Monarchy may be enlarged, and become lesse.



THe Occasions, by which the Spanish Monarchy may be kept up, or perhaps be enlarged also, are these: First of all, The Virtue of the King; Secondly, the Goodnesse of the Lawes; thirdly, the Wisdom of the Councel; fourthly, the Justice of the Officers of State; fifthly, the Obedience of the Barons; sixthly, the Multitude, and good Discipline of Souldiers and Commanders; Seventhly, a Full Treasury; Eighthly, the Mutual Love of the People among themselves, and toward their King; Ninthly, Good Preachers, in their Sermons speaking for subjection to Kings; Tenthly, the Good Agreement betwixt his own Kingdomes, and the Disagreement betwixt his Neighbours. And on the contrary, this Monarchy hath these things that may be the ruine of it: as First, A wicked King; Secondly, Bad Lawes; Thirdly, an Ignorant Councel; Fourthly, Unjust Officers of State; Fifthly, a Disobedient Nobility; Sixthly, the Want of Souldiers and Commanders, and those He hath, not well disciplined; Seventhly, Want of Mony; Eighthly, The Mutual Hatred of the People among themselves, and toward their King; Ninthly, False Prophets, or else perhaps True ones, that may rise up against Monarchy; Tenthly, The Discord of his Own Kingdomes, and the Agreement among others. All which things are Prudently to be considered, and weighed; seeing that the present Disagreement among the Enemies of Spain, and his Power at Sea all over the World, have rendred the Attempt not only of maintaining, but of enlarging this so great a Monarchy] very feasible.

CHAP. IX.

Of the King.



He cannot govern the World, that cannot govern an Empire, neither can he rule an Empire, that cannot a Kingdom; nor he a Kingdom, that cannot a Province; nor he a Province, that cannot a City; nor he a City, that cannot a Village; nor he a Village, that cannot a Family; nor he a Family, that cannot a single house; nor he a single house that cannot govern himself; neither can he govern himself, that cannot reduce his affections, and bring them within the compasse of Reason; which very thing no man is able to do, except he submit himself to the will of God. For whosoever rebels against God, who is the *Supreme Wisdom*, against him shall all things that are subordinate to him rebel also; and that justly, and by the Law of *Retaliation*, which is most just in all both Governments, and Actions of Men. Having therefore weighed in our mind, and considered all the *Ideas* and *Formes* of Humane Government, we say, that the King of Spains endeavours must be, that He may arrive to the Highest pitch of Wisdom that may be. For every *Virtue* is an *Affection* of the *Mind*, consisting in a certain *Mean*; beyond which if it arise, or fall beneath it, it comes to be a *Vice*. Now it is *Reason*, that constitutes this *Mean*: And therefore we are to say, that *Actions* alone do not render a man *Virtuous*; but to this purpose there is required also a *Natural Inclination* in the Person, which is derived both from the Complexion of his *Parents*, from the *Aire*, and from the Stars.

Seeing therefore that the Kingdom of Spain is not an Elective one, but descends by succession, I say, that the King ought to have but one wife, (for to have more, is contrary to *Reason* it self;) which is to be of a tall Stature; and she must be both fruitful and Eloquent, and must excel all other women in the endowments both of Body and Mind. Neither must he look after the Noblesse of her Family only; for so she may chance to
be

be barren, or may some other waies be not so pleasing to Him ; and he should be overwhelmed with all those mischiefs that *Henry the Eighth* was, or the Duke of *Mantua*, Whence *Francis*, the Duke of *Tuscany*, might seem to deserve commendation, if he had married *Blanch* only because he wanted an Heir to succeed him. The King is likewise to exercise the Act of Copulation with his Queen under a Fortunate Planet onely, and after Digestion is finished ; and besides, he must not do this, till after he hath abstained some reasonable time from the said Act, to the end that his seed may be the more fruitful; and when ever he hath any thing to do with his Queen, he ought at that instant to be very hot in his love to her ; for it is of great concernment to the whole World, what the seed of the King be. And I could wish, that all men did observe these Rules ! But the World is now come to that passe, that men take more care to have a generous Breed of Horses, then to have generous Children. Then must his Queen, when she is with Child, use some Moderate Exercise, that so the Child may be the stronger. When she hath brought forth a Son, there must be some woman, that is a Gentlewoman provided to be his Nurse ; which Gentlewoman must also be a Wise woman, and of a high Spirit too. For, the Manners are suckt in, together with the *Milk* of the Nurse. When the Child is grown up to some Maturity, He must converse with Men, rather then with Women ; and he must delight himself with the looking upon Mathematical Figures, and also with Maps, and draughts of the Kingdoms He is born to ; He may also look upon Horses, and Armes : but he must not be suffered to run about to idle Childish sports and plaies : as were the sons of *Cyrus*, *Cambyfes*, and *Darius* : as if they had been born for themselves only, and not for their People : and who therefore (as *Plato* saies) came to destruction. He must have Religious Tutors, both Bishops, and Commanders, that are eminent for their knowledge in Martial affaires : He must also have Eloquent persons, that may instruct him in the Art of Oratory, and informing him rather in the Solid Rules, then the trifling Quiddities of Grammer. After he hath grown past a Child, he must then exercise both his Mind, and his Body also : for *Valour*, and *Wisdom* are Virtues that are proper to Princes. And we are to know, that what Prince soever shall use the Exercise of Body only, and not of his *Wis*,

(as well his own, as his Subjects,) he shall be a slave to him that exerciseth his *Wit* too.

And hence it is that the King of *France*, and his Officers of State, yeilded themselves up to *Calvin*; as the *Germans* did to *Luther*; both which so bewitched their eyes, that they took all for right and good, whatsoever these laid down before them. And thus the *Tartarians* also, after they had made themselves Lords of the whole East, were at last made fools of by *Mahometts* Priests. And if they are not enslaved by Wicked Ingenious Men, yet how ever they are slaves to those that are Good, as well as Ingenious.

And hence we see, that those Kings of *Judah* and of *Israel*, that were both dull and wicked persons, were given up into the hands of *Elias*, and *Elisba*, and others; who set them up, and deposed them from their Thrones, for their Ignorance of their own Religion. The Consuls of *Rome* likewise were in subjection to their Priests. And again on the other side, he, that exerciseth his *Wit* only, is brought under the power of him that exerciseth his Body, and Feats of Armes. Whence it is, that the *Popes* have so often been made the laughing stock of the *Goths* and *Lombards*; and that Platonical King, *Theodoricus*, the second K. of *Ravenna*, was subdued by *Belisarius*. But that King that exerciseth himself both these waies, he is the truly wise King. And hence it was that the *Romans* never exercised their *Wit*, without the exercise of the *Body* too; as *Salust* informs us. I adde moreover, that a King ought not to bend his studies wholly to, and to spend all his time in one certain Science onely; as did King *Alphonsus*, who became one of the most famous Astronomers in the World; following the Example of King *Atlas*, who was overcome by *Perseus*, a valiant Man of Armes, as the Fable tells us: nor yet would I have him to addict himself wholly to the Study of *Divinity*, as *Henry* the VIII. did, who by this means utterly ruined his own Wit. But he ought to have several Tutors for each several Science, and be a hearer of each of them at their several appointed times. But the Knowledge most fit for the King, is, to know the Division of the World into its parts, and of his own Dominions; the different manners and Customes of the several Nations of the Earth, and their Religions and Sects; as also the stories of all the former Kings, and which of them was a Conquerour, and which was overcome, and for

for what reasons: And for this purpose he must make choice of the best Historians that have written. He must likewise know the several Lawes of Nations, and which are wholesome Lawes, and which not; and the Grounds they were made upon. But chiefly He is to be well skilled in the Lawes of his own Kingdome, and of the Kings his Predecessors; and to understand by what means *Charles* the Fifth got here, or lost there; and how *Maximilian* sped in his wars: So likewise, with how many, and what kind of Nations and Kingdomes They made their Wars; and how the same Nations may be subdued. He must also give an ear to all sorts of Counsels; but let him make choice of, and publish as His own, the Best, and Soundest onely. Let his rule be also, to inflict all punishments upon his Subjects in the name, and by the Ministry of his Officers; but to confer all benefits, and rewards upon them with his own hand, and in his own name. In a word, he must be adorned with all kinds of Vertues; and let it be his chiefest desire to leave to His Successors Himself an Example worthy of their Imitation; as it must be his care to imitate all the wisest of his Predecessors.

Those Affections which he ought with his utmost power to restrain, are *Grief, Pleasure, Love, Hatred, Hope, Fear*, and lastly *Mercy* also. For when a King shewes himself to be cast down by any Ill Fortune that hath befallen him, He betrayes his own Weaknesse, discourages his Subjects; and, lastly, gives himself wholly to grieve for the same: for which King *David* was justly reprov'd by *Joab*, when he lamented so excessively the death of his Son *Abshalon*. As on the contrary side, when he is too much lifted up with Joy for any good successe, it argues in him an abject and servile Disposition and Temper: And especially, if he addict himself to keep company with Buffoons and Jesters, and give himself up to excessive Banquettings, and other the like pleasures, he must needs be despised by his Subjects: as *Nero* was, who minded nothing but Stage-Playes, and his Harp; or *Vitellius*, and *Sardanapalus*, who giving themselves over wholly to Women, and Feasting, were therefore scorned by their Subjects, and deposed, with the losse of their Lives.

And indeed the *Love of Women* will very often endanger him; unlesse he fortifie his mind against it: (as it happened to the most

Wife *Salomon* himself:) and especially of his own Wife, who commonly hates her Husbands nearest, and most intimate friends; conceiving, that the greatest share of His Affection is due to Her self: in so much, that she will hate and persecute the Wisest, and ablest Commanders for War that are about him.

* He would have said, *Theodora*: Thus we read * *Sophia*, Wife to the Emperour *Justinian*, dealt with *Narzes*; who being thereby very much incensed, he took occasion to invite the *Lombards* into *Italy*; to the infinite prejudice and losse both of the Emperour and Empreffe.

Covetousnesse also proves the ruine of Kings; as we see in *Antiochus*, who pillaged the Temple of *Jupiter Dodonæus*; and in *Caligula*, who having profusely wasted all his own, most greedily gaped after other mens estates: whence they both came to be hated by their Subjects, and so died a miserable death. Such a one also was *Midas*, who wished, That whatsoever he touched might presently turn to Gold; whereas he could neither eat his Gold, nor could it procure him an houres sleep when he wanted it; that is to say, it was of no use at all to him; but it onely laid him open to the spoyl of him, that had but the Skill to make use of his Iron. *Caligula* in one year consumed riotously seventeen Millions of Crowns, which his Predecessor *Tiberius* had scraped up together: and was afterward reduced to that want, that he was forced to betake himself to spoyl his Subjects, and to practise all manner of Cruelties upon them. King *Solomon* also, what in building of Sumptuous Palaces, and Temples, and about other most chargeable Poms and Magnificences, expended the better part of a Hundred and twenty Millions, which his Father *David* had left him: and notwithstanding that he had no trouble upon him from any part, yet did he so excessively overburden his Subjects with Taxes, that being become Intolerable to the greatest part of his People, he lost a great part of his Kingdome, in his Son *Rehoboam*.

We do allow in our King a desire of *Honour*; but so, that he aspire to it by the steps of *Vertue*: for otherwise He will gain onely the opinion of being *Proud*; which was the ruine of *Alboin*, and *Attila*. And indeed *Honour* is the Witnesse to *Vertue*: and therefore whosoever is a *Vertuous* Person, he shall attain to *True Honour*, without any *Flattery*; which hath been the overthrow of many a Prince in the World.

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And hence it will also follow, that a Prince should not enter into so strict a Tye of Friendship with any One, or Two of his Subjects, as to indulge them the liberty of transgressing the bounds of Justice, and the Lawes, without controul: For by so doing, the Principal Persons of his Nobility, and Commanders in War, laying aside all duty, will look upon him as an Abject, Unworthy person. And, which is more, they sometimes in these cases enter into Conspiracies against Him; and that very person, whom He advanced to so much honour as to make him his Favourite, may chance to usurp the Kingdome: as we read it happened betwixt *Gyges*, and *Candaules*, King of *Lydia*. So likewise *Sejanus* did much mischief to the Emperour *Tiberius*, who notwithstanding was as subtle and crafty as any man: But yet *Macro* did more, who made an end of him. Neither can any thing be more destructive to a Prince, then to single out One onely, to be his Friend and Favourite. And hath not *Antonio Perez* been of very ill Consequence to the Present King? If the King hate any particular persons, he must by no means discover it; unlesse he find that they are hated by the People also: as are commonly all Hereticks, Infidels, Usurers, and Publick Executioners of Justice upon Malefactors: for by so doing, He shall the more indear himself to the People. He must also take notice, that *Accusations* among his Subjects do not so much avail his Kingdome, as *Calumnies* hurt it: and therefore He ought alwaies to encline rather to the Accused Party. And to the end that he may attain to the highest degree of his Subjects Love, and Affection, He must set up some *Court of Grace*, that shall be above all other Courts whatsoever; that all such persons as are condemned to death, may have yet some left to whom they may appeal.

And the King ought to pardon Offenders often, where it may be done safely enough; and where the Condemned person hath not been admitted to make his Appeal to the Kings Deputies, or hath not offended either against the State, or Religion: and these Offenders by Him pardoned, may be sent out either for Souldiers, or else to the Gallies: and this will do very much good. And of this *Court of Grace*, I would have the King himself to be President; and it should consist onely of his Queen, and his Children, and one Bishop only.

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The King must also with all Modesty, and Humility, put his chiefeſt truſt in God, and reſoſe but little confidence in his own ſtrength : eſpecially when He is not endued with any Extraordinary Prudence for the managing of the ſame : and all the weightieſt of his Actions muſt be referred to God, as the Author of them, that ſo they may be lookt upon by all with the greater reverence, and eſteem. Let him never hope with a few to vanquiſh a greater number, nor with Undiſciplined and unruly Souldiers : nor to conquer a forraine enemy in his own Country : of which things I have elſewhere ſpoken. He muſt alwayes remove all *Fear* far from him ; and he muſt diſcover his onely *Fear* to be, leſt any Sad Diſaſter ſhould befall either Religion, or his Subjects. And in all His Expeditions He muſt ſhew himſelf to the Height of Valour, and even of bold Daring too : provided that he do it with Reaſon, and that ſo He may the more inflame the courage of his Souldiers. Neither ought he ever to ſeem to be Jealous of the Worth of any one ; leſt he ſhould ſo betray His own Timorousneſſe, and Pooreneſſe of Spirit. And therefore, to the end that his Subjects may not rebel, His ſafeſt courſe will be, to keep them alwayes up in Armes, rather then to let them lie unarmed quietly at home : for, being in Armes, they will the eaſier be kept within the bounds of Obedience. Becauſe that, if they be by fair, and Prudential meanes kept in awe, they will be ready to make uſe of their Armes at all times for their Kings advantage ; but if, though Unarmed, they be otherwiſe then fairely dealt with by their Prince, they will be apt to revolt from him, or (which is worſe) will find Armes, which they will turn againſt Him. An example of this kind we have in *David* and *Saul*, who was Jealous of *David*, ſeeing his Valour and Worth. The King ought alſo, as often as he begins to be Jealous, and fearful of the Greatneſſe of any of his Subjects, under the ſhew of honouring him, to ſend him abroad out of the Country he is powerful in, to ſome other ; as *Ferdinand*, King of *Aragon*, dealt with the Great Duke *Conſalvus* ; removing him from *Naples*, where he might poſſibly have raiſed Commotions in the State, to Spain, where he was not able to do any ſuch thing. Neither yet are ſuch Men too much to be ſlighted ; for by this meanes the Prince might incurre the hatred of his Subjects ; and it would be a diſcouragement to them from the endeavouring

endeavouring at any High and Noble Actions. Therefore such persons, as He is Jealous of, are to be employed in such places, where there is the least danger to be feared from them: as, we read, *Belisarius* was called home by *Iustinian* out of *Italy*, where he was beloved by all men; and sent against *Persia*.

The Kings *Auger* must neither be Violent, nor Headlong; as was *Alexander's* of *Macedon* against his Nobles; for so he may chance to be made away by poyson, as *Alexander* was: and his Subjects may fall off from him, and so his Power will be diminished; as it happened to *Theoderick* the First King of *Ravenna*; and which was also the cause of the Emperour *Valentinian's* death. In times of Peace He must be merciful to such as offend either out of Ignorance, or Weaknesse of Body or Mind; and that, in favour of the Multitude, and to sweeten Them: but this he must take heed of, in time of War; and he must not pardon any Egregious Offenders, or that are the Heads, and Ringleaders of any Faction: especially where the Worth of the Persons is not so great, as that, being pardoned, they may be of greater use to him, then that wherein they offended was prejudicial. Thus *Scanderbeg* pardoned *Moses* rebelling against him, as being the Greatest Commander he had under him: who thereby became afterwards of very great Use, and Advantage to him: In like manner as *David* also pardoned *Joab*. But yet we must remember, that this Easinesse, and Mercifulnesse is then only seasonable, where the Crime concerns not the State it self, but onely Particular persons. And therefore the Prince ought not at any time to deny the Legal Proceeding of Justice to any one; For, for this very cause, *Philip*, King of *Macedonia*, was slain by *Pausanias*. And therefore, as we have formerly said, he ought to be careful, and circumspect in the curbing, and bridling of his own Passions and Affections.

But now, Piety, and Religion is of it self sufficient to make any Prince exercise his power of Dominion Justly, and happily: as we see by the Examples of the Emperour *Constantine* the Great, *Theodosius*, and the like. And here we are alwaies to remember, that it is most certain, that, *The People do naturally follow the Inclinations of their Prince*. And therefore *Plato* was wont to say, *If the King but mend, all the Kingdome mends*, without the accession of any other Law. And therefore the Virtue
of.

of the Prince ought to surpasse, in a manner, all Humane sense.

As concerning Making of War, it is certain and evident to all, that Warlike Princes have still had the better of those that are not so inclined: and although Wise Kings have alwaies made a shift to preserve their own, yet they have not alwaies enlarged their Dominions: but the idle, and sloathful have ever been of the losing hand. I say therefore, that a King, if he would be accounted a warlike Prince, ought to go in person to the Wars; especially, where he is certain of Victory. Thus *Joab*, having for some time besieged that City of the *Ammonites*, and being now ready to take it, he gave notice to the King, that He should come, and be at the delivery of it up, that so the Glory of the Action might be His. For by this means the People will be ready to admire their King, as if he were something more then a King. But He must be sure to decline all Evident Dangers, and especially Duels; *Left* (as the *Israelites* said to *David*) *He quench the Light of Israel*. For this was accounted a great fault in *Alexander* the Great, that he would needs leap down first himself from off the Walls into a certain Town; where He by that meanes received many Wounds: For by that rash Act of his, he in His Single person brought into Hazard the Monarchy of the whole World. He must also reward his Old Souldiers with his Own hand, and must prefer them to the Government of Castles, and Forts: and the rawer sort of Souldiers he must cause to exercise themselves in light skirmishes among themselves, and in exercises of the Field.

Every King that swaieth a Scepter is either a *Wolfe*, or a *Hireling*, or lastly a *Shepherd*; as *Homer*, and the Holy Gospel it self also calls him. A *Tyrant* is the *Wolfe*, that keepes the Flock for his own Advantage; and alwayes maketh away with all the Wealthiest, Wisest & Valiantest of his Subjects, that so he may fill his own bags, and may without any danger or controule, Lord it as he list, and range about through the whole flock, spoyling whom he please. And if the King of Spain should go about to shew himself such a one to his Subjects, he will lose all; as did those *Dionysij* of *Syracuse*, *Acciolinus* of *Padoua*, *Caligula*, *Nero*, *Vitellius*, and the like. The *Hireling* is, he that kills not indeed his Subjects; but rather drawes to himself all

all Profits, Honours, and advantages acquired by the Service of his Souldiers and Vassals; but he doth not at all defend them from the Ravenous *Wolves*; I mean, *False Teachers*; nor other fierce Invaders, and Oppressors. As we may call the *Venetians*, the *Hireling Rulers of Cyprus*; seeing that they did not defend it against the *Turkes*. And the *Romans* also were such, in Relation of the *Saguntines*, from whose necks they did not keep off *Hannibals* yolk. And in like manner we may tearm *Don Philip Maria* the *Hireling Viscount of the Genowayes*; for he mad onely a benefit of them, but shewed not himself as a Governour over them; Which cannot now be said of the King of Spain. And these *Hirelings*, or *Mercenary Princes*, are suddenly losers by it, as the former were. As, wee see, the King of *France* lost, by suffering *Calvin* to mount up into the Chaire; as the *Elektor of Saxony* likewise did, by suffering that Wolf *Luther*. For he that makes a prey of Mens Mind, hath command over their Bodies also: and will at length have the disposing of their Fortunes and estates too. And therefore it is a meer Folly, and Ignorance in those Princes, whosoever they be, that shall admit New Religions into their Dominions, whereby the Minds of their Subjects are lead away. And hence it was that Saul foresaw his own Ruin, so soon as ever he perceived the affections of the People inclined towards *David*. And the Mischiefs of *Germany*, *Poland*, and *France* have been infinite, since *Luthers* making a [Prey and carrying away the Minds and Affections of the Inhabitants of these Countries, But that King is a Shepherd, that feeds Himself with the Honour, and Love of his People; and them, with his own Example, Learning, and Abundance of good Things; and withall defends them by his Armes, and Wholesome Lawes. And therefore a good King ought to be endued with so much a greater proportion of Learning and Knowledge above his People (who do infinitely herein excel Brute Beasts,) as the Shepherd is above his Mute Flock. So that a Prince (as *Plato* said) is somewhat above Humane Condition, and ought to be esteemed as a kind of God, or a Christ; or at least is to be reputed as qualified with a certain measure of Divinity, and to have some eminent knowledge conferred upon him from above, as had that Divine Law-giver *Moses*; and as at this day have the Pope, and the Bishops. Or if this be not granted to Him, he ought however, hrough Humane Virtue at least, to submit, and yield Obedi-

ence to the Divine Law-giver ; as did *Charles* the Great. And there have been some, who wisely considering these things have endeavoured to perswade the World, that they were Inspired from Heaven, as did *Mahomet*, and *Minos* ; whose Lawes were thereby held in great Reverence by the People. And certainly wheresoever the King shall approve himself to be such, the People in general will be made good ; whereas on the contrary, if the Prince be Bad, the People will be so too. And therefore following the Example of the Pope, and his Bishops, he ought to appear as like them as he can, doing nothing at all without their approbation, but making a Union betwixt his Kingdom and their Church, so to make up one Body of a Republick betwixt them ; as I have said before ; and by observing the Ecclesiastical Order, and by constituting good Lawes, he must render himself Worthy of Reverence from the People : which by appearing but seldom abroad among them in Publique, he shall be sure to have from them.

As for those Acts which Humane Nature cannot abstain from, as eating, and the like, these he ought to do privately. Or if at any time he do any of them in Publiok, He must alwaies, after the example of *Philopamen*, the General of the *Acheans*, have some by him to discourse touching Peace and War. Our King must not endeavour so much to be Accounted a Vertuous Person, as to be so Really : for, where any one is discovered to have but once played the Dissembler, no body will ever believe him again afterwards.

And because that, for want of Issue to succeed him, the Kingdom may easily fall to the ground ; His chiefest care must be, that he get children as soon, and early as he can. And so soon as ever his Eldest Son shall be grown up to any maturity, and himself perchance is yet a young man ; he may then do well to send him to *Rome*, that so he may be instructed both in the affaires of the World, and in those of Religion also ; and withal, the Kingdom of Spain may be the more firmly incorporated into the Church, by having both the Cardinals, and Popes themselves alwaies true to their Faction : and also, that His Son, and the Barons may not dare to joyn together, and take up Armes against Him : (which our King *Philip* suspected of his Son *Charles* ;) and so, by Obeying, he shall learn how to Rule. The King of Spain ought also alwaies to design some of the House

of *Austria* to be his successor, in case that he should die without a successor of his own.

Let him alwayes speak the Language of his Native Country, and give Audience to such only as speak the same. He ought alwayes to keep his Court in Spain, the Head of his Empire; neither let him ever go out of it, unlesse it be to the Wars, and leaving his Son behind him: Or, to suppress some mutinying Province, or some Baron that he suspects, He may go and take up his quarters among them; that so, being thereby reduced to want, and scarcity, they may be forced to serve the King instead of Souldiers, and He by this means may be freed from all fears and jealousies. The rest of His Male Children, that are not brought up in the hope, and expectation of Reigning; he may make Cardinals; neither ought he at any time to commit the reins of Government to their hands, least happily they should be possessed with a desire of Ruling. And hence it is, that among the *Turks* it is the Custome, alwayes to make away with all the yonger Sons. And the King of *China* shuts up those that are next in blood to Him, in large, spacious places, which abound with all variety both of necessaries, and Delights: as the King of *Ethiopia* confines all his to a certain very high, and most pleasant Mountain, called *Amar*; where they are to continue, till they shall be called to succeed in the Kingdom. But yet for all this, neither doth the King of *China*, or *Ethiopia*, by confining their nearest of kin, nor the Great *Turk*, by killing his, nor yet the *Moor*, by putting out the Eyes of his, acquit themselves from the danger and fear of Seditions, and Rebellions. For notwithstanding that the Parents of these confined Persons may haply bear it with a patient and quiet mind enough; yet it may possibly be, that either the Common People, or the Nobles of the Kingdome, being moved either with Indignation, and Fury, or else Fear of Punishment, or desire of Revenge, may corrupt, and provoke those Persons so shut up; or by killing their Keepers, may carry them away out of their prisons by force, and may place them in the Throne: as those they call, *The Common Rebels of Spain*, attempted to carry away by force the Duke of *Calabria*, who was at that time a Prisoner in the *Sciative Tower*. And in *China* many most cruel Tyrants of both sexes, both Kings, and Queens, have been murdered. And of late years, in *Ethiopia*, *Abdimalo* was called to the Crown, not from one

of the Mountain of *Amara*, but from out of *Arabia*, whether he had fled to preserve himself. Neither is there any Country, where there have been more Civil Wars, and Rebellions raised, then among the *Moors* in *Mauritania*. The Kings of *Ormus*, before that that Country was subdued by the *Portuguez*, were wont to kill their Parents: which custome was practised also by some Emperours of *Constantinople*; by the Kings of *Tunis* also, and of *Marocco*, and *Fez*; as likewise among the *Turks*: as appears by the Wars betwixt *Bajazet* and *Zerim*, and of *Selim* and his father, *Bajazet* the second. Therefore this Cruelty of the *Turks* renders them not much more secure thereby. For in other Kingdomes it is onely Ambition, and a desire of Honour, and Rule that excites men to raise sedition, and to take up Armes against the Prince: Which Ambitious Desires may either be satisfied some other way, or be diverted to some other design, or possibly may be overawed, and crushed: But those of the Blood Royal among the *Turks*, and *Moors*, besides Ambition, have a Necessity also of seeking the preservation of their own Lives, to force them on to such Attempts. For, seeing they are all certainly enough assured, that they shall be put to death by the succeeding Emperour, they have need all of them to provide for themselves; and so are necessitated, in a manner, to take up Armes, and to implore the aid and assistance either of subjects at home, of Forrain Princes abroad. Hence it was that *Selim* was wont to say, that He was to be excused for having made away with so many of his Brothers, Nephews, and Kindred; seeing that otherwise the meanest person of the *Ottoman* line, that should have but scaped acting a part in that Tragedy, might have come to the same Dignity He enjoyed.

But, passing by these Impious, and yet Ineffectual Examples of Cruelty, let us now come to the Daughters of the King of Spain. And these Probably may do well to be matched with the Kings, or Princes of *Poland*, and *France*: and also with the Kings of *Denmark*, *Muscovia*, *England*, and the like: upon this condition, that these Princes promise faithfully to embrace the *Catholick Religion*; which if they would do, there would thence a double Benefit accrue.

The King must take into his Court, all the most able, and most knowing in all sorts of Sciences: and He must endeavour

to render both Himself, and his Children, as excellent in them as is possible; that so the Eyes of all men may be turned upon Him, and His, and may joyn themselves unto them, seeing them live so happily and securely. In like manner, as all the People of *Israel*, even to the *Maccabees* themselves, who had God for their Guide, became yet admirers of the *Romans*; and entering into a League with them, fled to Them for Protection. Now He that protects, or assists, may naturally be said to be Lord of him whom he protects; as the *Man* became Lord of the *Horse*, whiles He assisted him against the *Stag*.

CHAP. X.

What Sciences are required in a Monarch, to render him admired by all.



LI Great Men, when they have gone about to set up a New Monarchy, have changed the Sciences that the people were exercised in before, and many times also the Religion of the Country; that so they might render themselves the more Admired by their Subjects: and by this means also other Nations have come in unto them too. And this is the reason why the *Assyrians*, under King *Ninus*, changed the Religion of *Noah*, and set up that of *Jupiter Belus*, and applied themselves to the study of *Astrology*; whereby they became so famous, and admired, that they brought the whole East under their Subjection.

The like course also was taken by the *Persians*, under *Cyrus*; who took upon himself the Title of *Gods Commissary*: for These introduced into the World the Practise of *Natural Magick*; a Science till then never heard of before; and furnished it out with great Variety of New, and Admirable Rites and Ceremonies.

The *Macedonians* made the world believe, that their Prince, *Alexander the Great*, was the Son of *Jupiter Ammon*; and withal abolishing

abolishing the *Ancient Disciplines*, they brought in upon the Stage the *Aristotelian*; which confuted all that were before it: insomuch that his Father, King *Philip*, rejoyced very much thereat, foreseeing that this *Novelty of Doctrine* would lay a Foundation for his son to erect a New Empire upon; and so thenceforward neglected the worship of *Jupiter, Mercury, Osiris*, and the rest of the most Ancient among the Gods. Thus *Mahomet* also, when he now aspired to a Monarchy, introduced a *New Religion*; fitting it to his own Palat, and the Gust of the People. *Julius Caesar* likewise, being now got to be chosen the *Pontifex Maximus*, and *Astrology* being at that time not very well known to the *Romans*; He, by changing the *Old Account*, and rectifying the *Year*, laid the Foundation of His Monarchy.

And the same must the King of *Spain* also do; especially seeing He hath the best Opportunity that can be, of doing the same. For seeing that it is not Lawful at all times to introduce a *New Religion*, He ought therefore to adorn, and set forth the Old so much the more, and to enlarge it with variety of *New Rites* and *Ceremonies*; as also to bring forth into the World *New Sciences*, and such as shall be suitable to His Dignity.

But above all, let him make a Law, to be observed by all Christians; First, That whensoever any People or Country shall forsake the *Roman Religion*, all Princes shall be bound, upon pain of forfeiting their Estates, to root out, and extirpate the same; like as God commanded *Moses*.

Secondly, That the Clergy, and such as are skilled in Church Matters, shall make it Their care to look to the regulating of the Moneths of the Year, and the Daies of the Week; calling the several Moneths by the Names of the Twelve Apostles; and the seven Daies of the Week by the Names of the Seven Sacraments. For the truth of it is, that the Inhabitants of the *New World*, when they find, in conversing with the Christians, that the Heathenish Names of Moneths and Daies are still in use among them, they are wrapt into a great admiration. And the like course is to be observed in other the like things.

Thirdly, that seeing that *New Sciences* do make a New Monarchy the more Admired, I would have the Schooles of the *Platonists*, and of the *Stoicks* opened again, whose Opinions
come

come nearer to *Christianity*, then the *Aristotelian*. And, that we may descend to particulars, the *Teleian* Philosophy is the most excellent of all; seeing it comes the nearest to the Holy *Fathers*, and makes it appear to the World, that the Philosophers knew nothing; and that *Aristotle*, who would have the *Soul* to be *Mortal*, and the *World* to be *Immortal*, and denies *Providence* also, (on which *Christianity* is grounded) talks very absurdly, notwithstanding all his so specious Reasons; seeing that the same are refuted by stronger Reasons, fetcht in like manner from *Nature*.

Fourthly, It is necessary that he set the Wits of the Learned to work with *Scholastick Questions*; lest by being conversant in the Sciences of Natural Things, it set an edge upon their Ambition, and by this meanes they should aspire to higher Matters.

Fifthly, That He should banish all *Theological Questions* out of the *Transalpine* Schools; seeing that all the Divines of those parts turn Hereticks, by not continuing firm to the Holy Constitutions of the *Pope*, but are still raising up fresh Controversies: and the Wits of these men are to be exercised onely in the Disputes of *Natural Philosophy*.

Sixtly, He must endeavour to get himself Renown, as *Justinian* did, by reducing all the *Roman Lawes* into One Body: and as *Charles* the Great did, by opening the School of *Aristotle*, which was at that time the only School of *Philosophy* in Christendome: for all the rest had been long before trodden down to the ground by the *Barbarians*; as I have shewed elsewhere.

Seventhly, He shall do well to shut up all the *Greek* and *Hebrew* Schools; because that these Two Languages have been destructive to Monarchy; and are, besides, the Main Pillars by which those Heresies that chiefly reign at this day are built upon. And therefore, on the contrary, let him endeavour to bring in the Knowledge of the *Arabick* Tongue; by meanes whereof the *Mahumetans* may be the better convinced; and the troublesome *Transalpine* Wits may imploy themselves rather in confuting the *Turks*, then in vexing the Catholicks with their Disputes.

Eighthly, Let him also erect *Mathematical* Schools: because this would be of great use and advantage in respect of the *New World*;

World, as well as of the *Old*: because by this means the Peoples Minds will be diverted from creating Us any trouble, and will be incited to bend their studies that way, which may be useful to the King. Then let him get about him the Ablest *Cosmographers* that he can, and assign them Liberall Allowances; Whose businesse it shall be, to describe those several parts of the World wheresoever the Spaniards have set footing throughout the Compasse of the whole Earth; because that *Ptolomy* knew nothing of most of those Countries at all; And let Him, by the Industry of these his Mathematicians, correct all the Errours of the Ancient *Geographers*: and he may also put forth a Book, under the Title of the King of Spains Name, wherein he shall set forth the praises due to *Christophorus Columbus*, *Magellanus*, *Americus Vesputius*, *Ferdinandus Cortesius*, *Pizarvus*, and others of his Valiant Sea-Commanders; whose Posterity He ought to confer Dignities upon; for the Incouraging of others to fall upon the like undertakings. Let him also send able Astrologers abroad into the New World, and especially some of those beyond the *Alpes*; to the end that he may by this means also take them off from their Heresies, and filth; and let him, by proposing rewards to such, invite the ablest Wits out of *Germany*, and send them into the *New World*; that there they may give an account of, and describe all the new Stars that are in that Hemisphere, from the *Antarctick Pole* to the *Tropick of Capricorn*: and may describe the Holy Crosse, whose figure is at that Pole; and about the Pole it self they may place the Effigies of *Charles V.* and of other Princes of the House of *Austria*; following herein the Example of the *Grecians* and *Egyptians*, who placed in the Heavens the Images of their Princes and Heroes. For by this meanes both Astrology, and Local Memory will be both learnt together. And when any such Illustrious Persons are so advanced to Honour, and rendred so Venerable: and such Astrologers are encouraged with large rewards, it is of no small advantage to the enlargement of a Kingdom: For, all the Worlds Affections will be inclined toward such a Prince, and will desire to serve him.

We are to know also, that the Novelty of *Doftrins* is a great promoter of Monarchy; provided it be not against Religion, as was that of *Luther*: but that it rather agree well with it: as doth that of *Teleseus*, and that which I my self have collected,
by

by my reading of the Ancient *Fathers* of the Church: or at least when it doth not contradict the same, but rather enlargeth it, and renders it admired by all men, and takes up the Minds of the People, and keeps them in, from running after, and employing themselves in that which is prejudicial to the Kingdom.

Aristotle, though his Opinions were impious, yet was he in nothing at all any hinderance to *Alexander*; and therefore much lesse can there be any hurt, in such a Doctrine as we speak of.

The King must also take care to have the General Histories and Annals of the Whole World, compiled in a compendious and succinct way, like that of the Books of the *Kings of the Hebrewes*: and which may also shew from the first building of *Rome* the whole progresse of this Monarchy down to this present day, and may set down the time when the Christian Faith was first embraced by it: and may make it known to all, so many Kings thereof as were Pious and, and Religious men, were all of high esteem in the World, and reigned happily; but those that were Wicked, and Ill men, were also Unfortunate.

Let Him likewise cause a Brief Collection to be made of the Lawes of all the severall Kingdomes and Principalities of the World, digested in their severall Orders; as also their Religions and Customes; and let him make use of the best of these, and reject the bad. But he must be very careful, that He publish not in any place such Lawes, as the Nature of that place cannot bear.

CHAP. XI.

of Lawes, both Good, and
Bad.

He King of Spain, as well for Theological, as Politick reasons, can enact no New Lawes. For the Christian Law, together with the *Roman* Military Power and Prudence, is that which He succeeds in, and with which He is to comply. He must take heed therefore, that He make not many *Pragmatical Sanctions*. And it would be an excellent thing, if the Lawes, as far as it were possible, were all written in the Spanish Tongue; that so the whole World might be acquainted, and might have some commerce with the Spanish Monarchy, both in the Language, and the Lawes.

But seeing that this Monarchy had Its Rise under the *Roman* Empire, and Religion; the *Latine* is a Language that it needs not be ashamed of.

Let such Lawes therefore be made, as the People may keep rather Willingly, then by compulsion, and through fear of punishment; as finding them to be advantageous to themselves. For when such Lawes are enacted, as make for the Profit of the Prince, or some few Particular persons only, the People must needs be out of love with them; and then do they presently find out waies to elude the same: whereupon there strait followes Confiscation of the Subjects Goods, with Mults, Punishments, and Banishment. Then must we have New Laws made, to punish the Transgressors of the Former; and then again other New Lawes must be made, for the punishing of such as have offended against these latter: and thus is the Number of Lawes increased, the Princes Authority slighted, and the Subjects at length, out of hate to their Prince, either rise up against Him, or else forsake the Kingdom; to the very great damage (no question) of the Prince: for by this means both the number
of

of the Souldiery is diminished, and besides, the Kings Subsidies grow lesse. Every Tyrant therefore, that maketh Lawes that are for his Own Advantage only, and not for his Subjects, is a Fool: for by this meanes He loseth himself; whereas on the other side, a wise King, while he seems to do things Prejudicial to himself, doth himself notwithstanding thereby the greatest Right that can be. And we find by Experience, that Princes that are Popular, are more extolled, then those are that admit into their friendship and favour some few Noblemen, or Courtiers only: as we may observe in the Contrary Examples of *Augustus*, and *Tiberius*.

It is moreover necessary, that a Law be conformable to the Custome of the place for which it is made: for all Northern People love Easie Lawes; and would rather obey out of their own Good Nature, then by Compulsion. And the not observing of this, was the reason of the Dukes *D'Alva's* losing the Low-Countries. The Southern People, as those of *Andalusia*, require strict Lawes; the *Italians*, *Portuguez*, and *Calabrians*, desire a Mediocrity, and Moderation in their Lawes.

The King must also consider, as touching the *New World*, under what Climate each particular People there lyeth. For, those that lye under the Equinoctial, would have Moderate Lawes; but those that are under the Tropicks, must have more severe and rigid Lawes; as also those that are under the Pole: but those that are nearer to the Frigid Zone, desire Milder Lawes: but those that are more remote, and lye nearer to the Tropicks, as do the Inhabitants of *Siam*, require Austere Lawes, and such as carry a Religious Reverence with them. But those that are situate in a Middle Position, as the *Italians* are, are of like Nature to those that lye under the Equinoctial.

When another Country loseth any of its Inhabitants by reason of the difference of Religion, New Lawes are presently to be made by some Bishop; and some Eminent Commander of War, and a Colony of fit persons is to be sent thither: as, for example, *Netherlanders* may be sent into *Africk*; *Italians* into the *Netherlands*; and Spaniards into the *New World*. And the fittest time to do this, is, when the War is on foot there: but

when they begin once to yield, the Lawes may then be altered by little and little: as it is fit it should be done in the Low-Countries, when the People there shall submit, and yield obedience to the Spaniards. For then there should be more use made of the *Tongue*, in governing of them, then of the *Sword*: and the *Inquisition* is also to be kept up there under some Other Name, and Pretense.

But if any City, or Country, that is addicted to the Catholick Religion, be taken in; it will be sufficient then to send thither some Spaniards onely to guard it; and some Wise Persons, who by degrees may change the Lawes of the Place: but the King must put some of his own Subjects, and of his own Country, into the highest, and chiefest places of trust; but with the meaner and lower Offices he may intrust the Inhabitants of the place: as Duke Francis did at *Sena*; and the *Venetians* at *Padoua*. But when the Name of a Spaniard begins once to be hateful among them, let Him then send thither such *Italians* as He may safely trust, and employ them as his Ministers there. Now what course is to be taken in the several Kingdomes belonging to the Spaniard, I shall shew hereafter. Onely this I shall say here, that the First, and Principal *Keeper of the Lawes* ought to be *Honour*; the Second *Love*; and the Third, *Fear*: But where this Order is inverted, and runs the contrary way, nothing will there prosper.

Of Counsel.

CHAP. XII.



He *Supreme Councel, or Court*, ought to consist of the King, and some few of the Wisest of his Nobles, with some of the Clergy joyned to them. Yet the *Court of Grace* (of which I spake before) must be above the *Supreme Court of Justice*. The Councels of that Kingdom are already managed rightly enough; yet their Decrees would be observed with greater Reverence, and

and Religion, if that course were taken which I before proposed; namely, of adding to them a greater number of the Prelates: for by this means the Clergy will be the easier won; and with-all, the Decrees of the said Councils will be of the greater esteem, and reverence.

We are to take notice also that persons of any Nation whatsoever are not fit to be presently taken in for *Counsellours*; but such only, as know the Customes of the Country, or are Learned Men, as was *Plato*: or else have an excellent dexterity of wit, as had *Cincinnatus*. For as much therefore as the Spaniard is a person of good ability in all matters of a subtile Nature, and where there is use of Good Language; as the *Germans* abilities lie chiefly in matters that are to be done by the Hand, and require Labour; and the *Italians* in matters of State Government, and Policy; it must therefore be the Kings Care, that he make a right Choice of these several persons, and according to their different Abilities make use of them in His Counsels. My Opinion is therefore, that in Maritime Affairs, and whatsoever concerns Navigation, He ought chiefly to employ the *Portuguez*, and the *Genovese*: But in things which concern Mechanical Arts, Artificial Fire-works, and Engines of all sorts, the *Transalpine* is the only man: but where the Government of State is concerned, let the *Italian* be there made use of: but as for Fortifications, keeping of Garrisons, making Discoveries, or giving Intelligence, and going on Embassies, or whatsoever concerns Religion, with any of these let the Spaniard be intrusted.

And seeing that we would have the King of Spain to be Lord of the whole World, it must be his care, as much as he can, to draw on all Nations to comply with the Spanish Manners and Customes; that is, let Him make them all Spanish. Let Him also make them Partakers as well of Government, as of Warfare; as the *Romans* of old did; and as the *Turks* Custome is to do at this day. For otherwise, the Spaniard will be the lesse courageous in War, as not having any to rival him in Military Glory and Renown; neither will the *Counsellours* strive among themselves, who shall excell the other in Smartnesse, and sharpnesse of Wit, when they find that all Forreign Nations are cut off from all hopes of being called to *Counsel*. I say therefore that Spaniards are for the most part, though not alwayes, to be

admitted into the Counsel of Spain; and especially those of *Religious Orders*: as being the only persons that have little or no Interest of their own in Secular Affairs. Into the *Council of Italy* there must be taken in such Spaniards, as have lived some time in *Italy*, with some *Italians*, and two out of the *Netherlands*. For by this means all the several Nations will rest satisfied, and the Kings *Counsels* will be the better tempered: because the Spaniard will alwayes be of a Contrary Judgment to the *Italian*, as thinking himself the better man, and the greater respect and dignity due to him, because the Head of the Empire is with Them: and the *Italian*, according to the Freedom of spirit of that Nation, will boldly give such Counsel as he conceives to be sound and Good, and endeavour to curbe and abate the Fiercenesse of the Spaniard: and then must the *Netherlander* come in, and reconcile them to each other. The Council of the *Netherlands*, (seeing it is already granted, that the *Councils* of all Nations must be held in Spain) must be made up of Spaniards, Italians, and Natives, for the same two causes before given in. The *Councils* of both the *Indias* must consist of Spaniards, and such of other Nations, as have continued in the same for some time, whether *English*, *Gennese*, or others; provided alwayes, that into such Councils as concern the State, there be taken in some that are of *Religious Orders*; and also some of the Wisest among the Nobility, and any others that are well skilled in the Customes, Religion, Rites, Situation, and the Policy, both Domestick, and Military of the several Nations, what Country soever they themselves be of.

I shall here lay down one most Admirable and Profitable Rule more, for the King to observe, and that is, that every Seventh, and Ninth year (which are the Fatal Numbers) He should call together all the Nobility of each of his several Kingdomes, every one of which shall come to the Court, attended but with three Servants apiece at the most; and at the same time let there be sommoned to appear also all persons whatsoever, that are the ablest, and best seen in the affaires and Secrets of State, and of Government: and there let him command them to propose, every one of them severally, what they conceive most advantageous for the promoting of the Greatnesse of the Spanish Monarchy, or else for the particular Benefit of their several Provinces: and withal to give notice, what Errours have been

been there committed to that very time, which it concerns the Publick should be rectified. And I would have all the Counsellours also of all the several Councells to be present at this assembly, that every one of them in particular may be instructed in what concerns the whole World, and may take notice by this meanes wherein he committed any Error for the last Seven yeares, and so may either be reprov'd for the same, or may otherwise receive the praise due to him. For, if this Course were taken, the Counsellours of the Several Councells, growing Wiser and more Circumspect, would take heed how they gave any either Unworthy, or Unprofitable Counsels: and the King himself would have a greater insight into the Condition of his Monarchy, and by discovering New Secrets, and Mysteries of State, should thereby find out waies of advancing his own Greatnesse more and more every day: and the Nobles also would set their braines to work all that Seven years space, to find by what means their Princes State might be the most advanced, and would not any longer continue in their former Ignorance; and both they, and the rest of the learned of the Kingdom would utter the Virulency of their Ambition, not by their Sword, but by their Tongue. Now there is none so weak, but is able to deliver in words the State of his own Republick: seeing that there is no Philosopher, but will undertake out of his own brain to give a description, or Model of the same: Whence indeed are scattered abroad the seeds of Heresy and Sedition. But by the taking of this course, when any of these kind of Persons hath hopes of being rewarded by the Prince, he will conceive it his best way to expect rather to be called to give his Judgment at the Septennial Assembly, or else to send it thither in writing, and so will suppress his Opinions till that time. And so by this meanes the King shall be rendered the more secure of the Obedience of his Nobility, and shall understand who they are that deserve either well or ill of Him: Neither shall He be deceived, and abused by his Courtiers, or Flatterers; and shall have the better Opportunity of calling his Ministers of State to an account, for their evill Administration of the Provinces they were set over; and shall withal very much mend the condition of the said Provinces, and shall find many other Advantages to follow hereupon, which I am not at present able to reckon up; and shall besides bring it so

to passe, that his Council shall be both the Wiser, and withal the Truer to Him. But the Nobles of the New World, in case they cannot make their personal appearance at this Meeting, may send others in their places: Which is the Custome that the Clergy, being instructed by a certain Divine Wisdome, have alwaies observed in their *General Chapters*: though no Monarch, or State, hath ever taken the said course, except it be the *Venetians*; whose Embassadours, when they return home from any Forreign parts, are to give an account in the Senate of what they found Observable in the several Countries whither they were employed.

Now although our Discourse here hath been concerning the Particular Councils, and Kingdoms, that belong to the King of Spain onely; yet we may not therefore omit to say something of *Councils* in general; seeing that it is certain, *That More Weighty Affaires are Effected by Good Conduitt and Counsels, then by Weapons and Hands*. But because a Dissertation of this nature, being besides the intention of our present design, would be too prolix, I shall only here touch at some few particulars.

Such Counsels as are too Subtile, and Nice, are not much to be regarded; because they seldom are brought to any good Issue: for by how much the greater Subtlety there is in them, so much the more Exactnesse, and Punctuality is there required in the Execution of them; which is a businesse of the greatest difficulty that can be. And hence it is that the *Venetians*, although they are not so Ingenious a People as the *Florentines*, yet are they more happy, for the most part, in their Consultations, then They are; as of old, the *Lacedaemonians* were in this particular more Fortunate, then the *Athenians*.

Those Counsels are not to be much regarded, that have no matter of Weight or Eminency in them; Yet much lesse are such to be esteemed that aime at too Vast and Immense Undertakings; such as for the most part were those that were designed by the Emperour *Maximilian*, and Pope *Leo X.* the Effecting whereof required both a better Purse, a longer Life, and greater Abilities then either of them had: which kind of undertakings are very pernicious to a State, or Kingdom. All desperate Counsells are likewise Dangerous; and are commonly attended by Despaire and Misery. It remaineth therefore, that those Counsells are chiefly to be Embraced, that have the
greatest

greatest both Facility, and Security in them; and such as are well grounded, and upon Mature deliberation resolved upon, and as little subject, as may be, to Casualties, and the power of *Fortune*.

Slow Counsels become Great Princes; for it concerns them to be more careful in the Preserving, and making good, then in the Enlarging of the Bounds of their Kingdomes. But those *Counsels* that are designed rather for the Acquiring of More, then the Preserving only of what they have, must be more Quick, and Sudden. But of this subject I have elsewhere discoursed more largely.

CHAP. XIII.*Of Justice, and Its Contrary.*

IF the King be just, all his Ministers will likewise be just: and if the Superiour Ministers of State shall be Unjust, the Inferiour will be Unjust also: but there is nothing can hurt a Prince more, then to distribute the Rewards of Virtue, at the pleasure of any Favourite. And therefore where Offices are disposed of at the will of the Court Favourites, nothing ever goes well there: And it is so much the worse, because that now adaies the Greater Officers sell the Lesser Offices to such Creatures of theirs, as shall play the Theeves ever after for them, and themselves. And thus in Small Countries Common Justice is not observed: for these men, while they pretend to enlarge the Kings Jurisdiction, they render him odious to his people, and in the mean time fleece the poor, miserable Subjects. Therefore let every Officer provide himself to render an Account of his Administration to the People, who are to give in Information to the King every ten yeares, where they have been honestly dealt with, and where not.

All False Witnesses also, of whom the World is so full, must likewise be severely punished: and there must be care taken also, that the Attornies of the Exchequer may not force men by threatening words, and sometimes by blowes too, to be Wit-

nesses for them. But the best Course would be, that the Law of *Retaliation* should be in force; that the Complainant that makes not good his Accusation, should suffer the same punishment that the other should have done, if found guilty: because that now adaies there are more Calumnies brought into Courts, then Just Accusations. And therefore any Lawyer that shall be found to have suborned any such Witnesse; or any Judge, that shall be proved to have taken any Bribe, to pervert the Lawes, should be debarred for ever after, either from pleading at any Bar, or giving sentence in any Court.

The King must also take care, that Judges give sentence alwaies according to the Lawes, and not according as Policy of State (as they use to speak) shall require: and afterward either the King himself, or his *Viceroy*, or any other of the Kings Ministers may mitigate the Rigour of the Law, as they shall see cause, (provided it be not in Case of High Treason) that by this meanes they may gain the more upon the Peoples Affections.

And that untoward Custome is to be rooted out of the minds of Ordinary Judges, which yet hath taken deeper root in the minds of the Superiour Judges also; namely, that although they know an accused person to be Innocent, yet they will condemn him, though it be in a matter of no Moment; to the end that the fault may at last light upon Him, after the businesse hath been a good while depending under the Judge; that so, (as they use to say) there may seem to have been Pregnant Reasons for the long depending of the Cause.

Whereas they should be so far from aggravating any fault, as that they should rather lessen it as much as may be: and so they should endeavour the rather to be really Just, then to get an Opinion of being so; to the great detriment of the People, and also of the King himself; who through the wickednesse of these Unjust Judges, who are hated both by God, and Himself, is deprived of the Love and Affections of his People; which is the main Prop of His Affaires: and besides, Good Men, having lost their reputation, desire to change their present state for a better; as we see it usually comes to passe.

And no people have opportunity of offending more dangerously, and closely, then your Inferiour Officers have; and besides, these men, the more in favour they are with the Prince, the

the more grievously are they wont to aggravate mens crimes. And therefore in this case there ought to be certain Commissaries at all times deputed, and the same also to be maintained at the Charge of the said Ministers, who shall yearly also lay down a certain summe of Money to be kept in some Common place, for the charges of the next Commissaries the following year, that by these their Books of Accounts may be examined during the time of their being in Office, or afterwards also, if need be. For, by reason of the Corruption of these Inferiour Officers, whole Provinces have many times heretofore fallen off from the *Roman* Empire; especially when they have been found to be too ambitious, and active in squeezing the Subjects, either for the enriching of the Publick Treasury, or else for the filling of their own private Coffers. And for this reason it was, that the *Parthians*, having killed *Crassus*, filled his mouth full of Melted Gold: as a certain Spanish Grandee was also served by some *Indians* in the *New World*. And certainly Covetousnesse, and an open, barefaced Desire of Gold, was the reason, that the Affaires of the Spaniards succeeded so ill in the *New World*, into which at first they had so miraculous an Entrancce: and that the other Nations there, perceiving that humour in them, stood upon their guard as well as they could against the Spaniard, whose Government notwithstanding, before, they had not refused. The same manner of proceeding also in the *Netherlands*, was the cause of the ruining of the Spanish Affaires there.

Let all *Criminal Causes*, in times of Peace, be protracted as much as may be: (For, *No delay, about the death of any man, can ever be too long:*) but this must not be in times of War. As for Civil Causes, they ought all to be without any demurring, or delay, heard, and determined.

CHAP. XIV.

*of the Barons, and Nobility of the Spanish
Monarchy.*

Let the King of *Spain*, to the end that so vast a Monarchy may not fall to decay, hath need of such men as are excellent both for Learning, and the practise of Armes; whom He ought to reward afterwards with Baronies; that so being from thenceforth made sharers, as it were, of the said Monarchy, they may to their utmost power endeavour to maintain, and make good the same to their Prince. Which Baronies notwithstanding, when they once fall into the hands of Unworthy persons, are the cause of much mischief. And they do fall into such hands, when they come to be bestowed either upon Buffoons, or perhaps such Exchequer Men, as have found out new waies of oppressing the Subject: or else, when they have been conferred at first upon Wise, and Valiant men; whose Successors for all that may have proved to be Mean, Inconsiderable persons; or are else riotous, and proud; and such, as laying aside all thought of their Ancestors Virtue, take the full enjoyment only of that they have left them, and having no worth of their own, can onely boast of the Nobility of their Ancestors. And hence it is, that the King is in want so much of Persons of Worth, whilst the number of such Uselesse Drones encreaseth in the Kingdom.

The Great Turk, that he may prevent the latter of these Mischiefs, putting by all such as are bottom'd only upon Others Nobility, takes notice of such onely as are Eminent for some worth of their own: Neither doth he suffer any son to succeed in the Estate, or Goods of his Father by Right of Inheritance; but he is to receive the same at his hands, as a reward of his Service, if so be he deserve it. But in case he do not, he must then serve him either in some Ignoble Art, or else in some inferiour Office in his Wars.

The Former of these Inconveniences any King of Spain may prevent, if he but confer these rewards upon such onely, as are deserving Persons ; but the Remedy of the Second, which is practised by the Turks, cannot be made use of among Christians. Onely let him be sure that many of these Baronies do not in time fall into the hands of one man, who perhaps upon the first Opportunity given may revolt from him ; as did the Nobility of *Japan*, who being grown great in power, made opposition against their King in the City *Meaco*, which was also done by the Barons of *France*, who thereby hindered their own Monarchy; and as *Scanderbeg* did to the *Turk* : and so likewise the Princes of *Tarentum* and *Salerno*, and many other in the Kingdom of *Naples*, who made the same Attempts against their Kings, both those of *Aragon*, and of *Anjou* too. Now the Mischeifs which these Barons bring upon the People, and consequently upon their King, are these. They come to *Naples*, and to the Court, and there spending their mony profusely and lavishly, they make a great shew for a while, and get in favour with the Kings friends ; and at length having spent all, they return poor home, and make prey of whatsoever they can, that so they may make themselves whole again; and then they return to Court again ; running round still, as it were, in the same Circle ; in so much that we see these mens Territories much more desert, and naked, then the Kings in *Italy* are ; all through the default of the Barons themselves. And then, if the People have been infested with any Pestilential Diseases, or have suffered by the *Turks* ; They presently beg of the King to have the yearly Taxes to be remitted for some certain time; the payment whereof they themselves require at the hands of the People, and in the Kings name too, and that with all the severity that may be: which the Prince of *Rogobo* had the confidence to do, after the battel with the *Turks*. And lastly, under the pretence of the *Camera*, (as they call it,) that is to say, that the Country may be freed from quartering of Souldiers, they extort from the Subjects many Thousands of Crownes. And they find out a Thousand other wayes of fleecing the poor Subjects, that so they may never want Supplies either for their Luxury, or their Prodigality. And notwithstanding that the Spaniards believe, that this Lavishnesse of theirs makes for the Kings Advantage, and renders his state the more secure; because that those that are so
given

given to rioting and Luxury, are never any gatherers, and boarders up of vast Sums of Mony which may prove the Instruments of Rebellion; yet the plain truth of it is, they do him much hurt: for they by this meanes reduce the People, from whom the greatest part of the Kings Revenues come, to a poor, low condition. For the remedying of which Mischeif, it would do well if there were a Law made, that no Baron should have above 3000. Crownes of yearly Revenues: and that whatsoever any of them hath more, it should not descend to his Successor, but should go after him to the Exchequer: I speak here onely of such Baronies as shall be conferred by the King, upon the Grounds aforesaid.

As for the Ancienter Barons, it would do well if there were some Competitions cherished among them, that by this means, by their contentions they might keep one another under: and so likewise, that at every Seven years end there should be such an Assembly called together, as I spake of before: and that the Barons should be freed from all Bonds. Likewise, that every Baron should every three years find the King as many Souldiers and Horses, as he hath Thousands of Crowns of yearly Revenue. Let him also divide the Titles of Honour; and besides, he may do well to create many New Lords, finding out for them New Titles; that so the smalnesse of their number may not encrease their dignity and honour. Let Him take care also, that the Lordships, and Lords Mannours of the Kingdom of *Naples*, *Millan*, *Spain*, and the *Netherlands* may be bought by Forraigners; that is to say, by the *Gennese*, *Florentines*, *French*, and *Venetians*; that so the Barons, that are the Natives, may be brought lower, and the Forreigners may bring the King in a large yearly Revenue out of their own Country Lordships. By which means I dare be bold to affirm, that the King shall have greater power, and Command at *Genoa*, then at *Millan*; because that nothing can be done, or resolved upon at *Genoa*, without his knowledge and consent; whiles the *Genneses* will alwayes be in fear of losing the Lordships they have in the King of Spains dominions. And by this means also the King shall not need to trouble himself about allowing them maintenance, as he is with the *Millanois*: for, *Whosoever is fed by thee, he is thy servant*. And thus have the *Florentines* alwaies been servants to the King of *France*, into whose Dominions they have liberty of Traffick allowed them.

But

But there must be care taken, that no Fortified Places be ever put into the hands of any of the Barons. And besides, there must be such Provision made, as that all the Sons of the said Barons should have Spaniards for their Tutors, who shall Hispaniolize them, and train them up to the Habit, Manners, and Garbe of the Spaniard. And when these Barons shall once begin to grow Powerful, He must take them down; yet under the pretense of honouring them, by sending them away to some Office, or Charge, that lies in some place far remote from their own Lordships, and where they shall be sure to spend more then they get. And again, when ever the King shall please to take his Progress into the Country, let him so contrive his Gifts, as that He may lye upon these Barons; and so under the pretext of doing them Honour, may force them to be at a great charge in entertaining Him. Let Him give a willing ear to the People, when they make any complaints of them. Neither ought Nobility to be higher prized by the King, then *Virtue*; which is a Rule that deserves to be observed above all the rest. Besides, in all the Metropolian Cities in his several Kingdomes, as at *Lisbon*, *Toledo*, *Antwerp*, and the rest, as well in this, as in the other Hemisphere, the King under pretext of doing them honours may constitute, in each of them, five, eight, or ten Ranks, or Orders of Barons; such as are at *Naples*; that when they are to treat of any Affairs of State, each of them may go into his own Order and Place. For being thus divided, they will never be able to determine any thing that shall be Prejudicial to the King, by reason of the Ambition that will be amongst them, and so, where there shall be three Lawes perhaps made, to the Kings prejudice, there will alwaies be eight made for his advantage. And the common People also may in like manner, be distributed into their several *Classes* and Ranks. And this is much the more honourable, and secure way, then to cause divisions, and sidings into parties among them, which is the counsel of some Writers, who have a Saying, *Divide, & impera*: Cause Divisions among thy subjects, and thou shalt rule them well enough.

The King must alwayes make much of such persons, as are of eminent either Valour, or Virtue, and must prefer them to dignities and honours. In every place also, where He hath any Council sitting, He ought to joyn to them one of some Religi-

ous Order or other, whom he can trust; and that, for the common security of both parties, both Prince, and Counsellour. And all such persons as shall be admitted to this honour, should have an Oath administred unto them, or else should have some kind of Obligation by way of some Religious Fraternity with the Crown, by which they should be bound, in all troublesome and perillous times, not only to deliver into the Kings hands all the Gold and Silver they have, but that themselves also shall in person serve in the Wars, in defence of the Fortune and safety of the Kingdom. By which means the King shall prevent all Insurrections among them: or in case they should stirr, He shall have a sufficient Pledge in his hands, as being possessed of all their Treasures; in so much that their Wives will not spare in this case, to bring in what Rings, Bracelets, and Chains of Gold, or any thing else of value that they have, (as we read, the Roman women did, when Rome was distressed by *Hannibal*, and other Enemies,) and lay them all at the Kings feet.

And as for Commanders in War, those he ought to account the best, that were themselves once common Souldiers; such as *Antonius de Leva*, and *Gonsalvus de Corduba* were; as those Counsellours also are to be esteemed the ablest, that have risen to that height from the lowest, and meanest Trusts and Employments. And therefore the King shall not take any great care for such Barons, as have not been in service abroad before, so 'that they may have, thereby rendred themselves fit to discharge the offices of able Commanders in War, or to serve the King in his Councells. But he must get about him such, as have been men of long Experience, and are well acquainted with, and versed in the Affaires of the World.

Neither is it a small Calamity, that the Kingdom of Spain lieth under, by reason of such Quarrells, and Suits of Law as oftentimes arise among the Nobility, about *Precedency*, as they call it: which certainly, in the time of War, must needs be of most dangerous consequence; for There, *Military Valour* is onely to be looked after. And who knowes, whether or no this very thing might not be the cause of the Miscarriage of the *Armado* that was sent against England in the year 1588. But herein the Barons are of great use, and advantage to the King, because that in case He shall have any ill successē in any expedition,

pedition, He can immediately make himself whole again by his Barons : which the *Turks* can not do. For when he hath once received but one notable Blow, and is now much weakened thereby, He hath no Barons left him, by whose aide he may recover himself again : which was the case also of *Darius*, when he was overthrown by *Alexander* the Great; and of the Sultan of *Egypt* that was conquered by *Selim*; both which being once beaten, were never afterward able to make head again against their Eaemy. And if so be that Emulation and Envy had not born too great a sway among the Christians, in that Memorial Victory obtained at Sea against the *Turk*, in the year 71. *Constantinople* might at that time have been recovered, and the *Turk* utterly rooted out.

The King must therefore take especial notice, wherein the Barons may be prejudicial to Him, and in what they may advantage Him : and He must make use of them rather as his Treasurers of his Arms, and Monies, then make them, as it were, the Patrons of His State. And yet out of these Treasurers of his he may choose out some to be Commanders in his War; provided, that he lay a Command upon them to set aside their Second Sons, to be as a Seminary of Military Valour both for Sea, and Land Service; as we shall shew hereafter : and by this means He shall have their Fathers, the Barons themselves, as it were bound to be faithful to him, by reason of this Engagement of their Sons to the Prince; and so He shall be sure to have them at his devotion, whensoever he shall have occasion to make use of them : as shall be shewed hereafter, in the Chapter Of *Navigation*.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Souldiery.



He Souldiery of Spain, and consequently the defense, and Enlarging of that Kingdom, may faile two wayes; One is, because that Spanish Women, by reason of the too great Heat of the Country, are not very Fruitful: whence it may well so come to passe, as that seeing there are very many Spaniards killed, both in the *Netherlands*, and in the *New World*, and other of their wars, they may want Souldiers. As on the contrary, the *Helvetians*, and *Polonians*, and all other Northern Nations do abound with Souldiers, by reason of the Fruitfulness of their Women; and especially, because there are so few of them in those parts, that put themselves into Monasteries: neither do they suffer any Publick Stewes there at all, (by which it is a wonderful thing to consider, how much Humane seed is lost and utterly cast away,) and also because they deal more openly and freely with each other; neither are matches among them so often broke off, through the disagreement of Parents about *Dowries*, &c. and therefore they Multiply much the faster, as having fewer Impediments either from Art, or Nature. And hence it is, that the *Franks*, *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Lombards*, *Herulians*, and other Northern People, have alwaies abounded with plenty of Men: In so much that by reason of the too narrow Limits of their own Countries, they have been faine to leave them, and to seek for places of Habitation in ours, and other Countries; and have like Bees, been continually sending forth fresh Colonies into other parts: by which means we see it hath come to passe, that the *Oriental Nations*, together with the *Grecian*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, and *Hungarian* are now in a manner quite extinct. And therefore the Spaniards, being but few in Number, have been forced, for the reasons afore alleadged, quite to clear all the places whatsoever, that they conquered, of their ancient Inhabitants, as appears by the course they took with the *Indians* in the *New World*; least otherwise they should have lived in a continual fear, that the conquered, who were much

much the greater number, might rise up and take armes against their Conquerors. And this is the reason, why by the Ignorant they are accounted Cruel, Mercilesse people, for such their proceeding against the Indians. The number of the Subjects also, and the Revenues of the Crown are by this means diminished ; neither will any Nation that is Populous, endure to hear of the Spaniards: who for the same cause endeavouring this way to bring in the *Netherlands* also, became most hateful among them. And this Course is the King of Spain at this day fain to take in *Naples*, and *Sicily*: for he hath not above five Thousand Spaniards to keep those so large Kingdomes in Obedience.

And indeed those Dominions are upheld, and made good to the Spaniard meerely through Opinion onely. And for this very reason are they forced to disarm the People; which causeth them to suspect Tyranny, and Inhumanity from them; and which makes many also forsake their Country; as Solon told *Periander*, the Tyrant of *Corinth*. Besides, seeing they are necessitated to treat the Subjects hardly, they are therefore fain to get *Switzers* about them for their Life-guards; as not daring to trust their persons with those, whose hatred they have for these reasons contracted; which was also the discourse of the same Solon to the aforesaid Tyrant of *Corinth*.

Another meanes, and cause why Spain should want Souldiers, is, because that the Spaniards, when ever they conquer any Country that abounds with all manner of delights, they do so give themselves up to the full injoyment of those delights, that they thereby soften, and enervate themselves; and laying aside all their Innate fiercenesse, and yet withal securely relying upon their own strengths alone, they are easily driven out thence again. For this cause the *Romans*, when they saw their Army to be grown Effeminate, and much weakned, by lying in *Campania*, and enjoying the Pleasures thereof, they presently reformed it. And at *Naples* they never had any Native for their King, by reason of the Delicacy of the Aire there, and Venereal Pleasures; whereby all their Manly Courage, and Gallantry of Spirit is softened, and taken down. Neither could any Forreigners ever keep it long; because that in proçesse of time they became cheap in the Peoples Eyes, and so became a prey to other Forreigners; as the *Viscardians* were to the *Suevians*, the *Suevians* to those of

Anjou, and those of *Anjou*, to the *Arraganiens*, and at length to the *French*, and the *Castilians* : who afterwards , under the Command of the *Great Captain* drove the *French* out of the said Kingdom of *Naples*. The like hath also happened to all those Fierce Northern Nations, that have heretofore possessed themselves of any Southern Countries ; for through the softness, and delights of the said Countries, they have at length become Effeminate, and broken in their strength. And by this meanes the *Herulians* became a Prey to the *Goths*, and the *Goths* to the *Grecians* : as the *Lombards* were to the *French* : and as at length it befell to the *Vandalls* also, and *Hunnes*. Thus the *Tartarians* in like manner became the Laughing-stock , and Scorn of the *Turks* ; but indeed the *Turk* now defends himself by his Guards of these Northern People , after this manner.

After He had once perceived, that the Courage of his own Nation began to cool, He presently erected certain Seminaries of Souldiers (they call them *Seragli*, that is to say, Cloysters, or Enclosures ,) into which he shut up all the likeliest , and ablest-bodied young boyes of all the Nations that he had conquered ; where they should be taken off from acknowledging their own Parents ; and should be accustomed to reverence, and own the Grand Signiour only, as their Father : and here they are also instructed in all Military Arts, and in the Turkish Religion ; and out of these doth the Great *Turk* choose his *Janizaries*, for the guard of his own Person ; and of these same *Janizaries* doth He afterwards make his *Bashawes*, that is, his Commanders, and Counsellours in his Wars ; as also the Presidents of his Provinces, and Baronies ; and such of these as He finds to be studiously inclined, and fit for the Book, he chooseth out of them the *Musties*, and the *Cadies* , that is to say, the Priests , and Judges. So that although the race of the *Turks* should faile, yet will he never be unprovided of an able Souldiery ; seeing that He takes such an order to have such brought up thus for his service in every Province, by the Presidents of the said Provinces.

And the Romans of old, to the end that they might never want Souldiers, proposed great rewards, and Honours for all such as should approve themselves Valiant in War. Hence we read, that

that *Ventidius*, *Marinus*, and other Valiant and Wise persons, arrived to so great a height of Renown among them; till at length by this means they made themselves Masters of the Whole World.

The King of Spain therefore, to the end that He may remove from his Souldiery these two Evils, which It chiefly laboureth under, must make use of these two Arts especially.

First, He must presently take away from all People that he shall conquer, all their Immovable Goods, and must allow them only food and cloathing, and so set them to manure the ground; and as for their Sons, He may make them either Souldiers, or Husbandmen, according as he shall find them fittest for either of these Employments. And this will be best done in such Countries, as He shall have brought into his Subjection upon some certain Occasion: according as *Ioseph* did in *Egypt*, who taking his advantage by Occasion of the unexpected Dearth that arose there, to the end that the People might the better be furnished with Corn, he caused them to put all they had into their King *Pharaohs* hands: from whom the *Turks* also have learnt this Art. But there will be need of a very Wise Man, that may be able to bring this about in our Country, by taking good and plausible Occasions of doing the same: Or else the King may constitute some Third Person, as an Intermediate Lawgiver, (such as *Ioseph* was in *Egypt*; or *Plato*, who was sent for into *Sicily* by *Dionysius* the Tyrant) by whose means He may, in each several Province, reforme the Politie of three or five Cities there; the examples whereof the rest will afterwards follow of their own accord, when they shall but once take notice of the Benefits and Advantages that such a Reformation brings along with it. And therefore for this end and purpose, there must be care taken especially for the providing of Wise, and Able Preachers for these places: and I my self have a certain Secret to communicate, which would much promote this businesse; which I shall reserve for the Kings own Ear.

Or if the King of *Spain* have a purpose and resolution of prosecuting the Course already begun, (although it seems not to be so proper a one for the *New World*) my Opinion is, that, considering the Multitude of his conquered Vassals there, and the Small Number of his Souldiers in comparison of them; He ought to take this Course.

First of all, let Him shew himself bountiful to the People, by remitting their Taxes, by mitigating the severity of the Lawes, and by removing all occasions that the Inferiour Officers might have of seizing upon the Subjects Goods; and restraining the Souldiers from abusing the Inhabitants where they come; for which very reasons the People do not get so many Children as otherwise they would, which might afterwards do the King service.

And hence also it is, that their Daughters, wanting good portions to put them off, are faine to become either Nunnes, or Whores; and the Men, to turn Priests, or Friars, or Renegadoes; and so to serve as Souldiers in other Countries. And therefore it would be much the better course to use them more Courteously; and to take this for a most certain Truth, That *Money* doth not give Men Dominion over their Enemies; but rather exposeth them as a Prey to others. And therefore the *Spaniard* is in a very great Errour, (as we shall hereafter shew,) while he thinks, that *Money* hath the Command of All the World: Whereas in truth, it is thy *Vassals*, and thy *Souldiers* that must make Thee Lord over thine Enemies, and not thy *Money*. For, the Only Use of *Money*, is, to procure, and maintain Souldiers with it. It is much better therefore, that Souldiers should bear rule over any Country, then *Money*: for by this means mutual Amity, and friendship will be the better preserved betwixt the Souldier and the Subject. And to this purpose it would be much a safer course, if there were a Law made, both in *Spain*, and other places, that the Eldest Sons only should inherit their Fathers Estates, and the rest should all serve the King, and be Pensioners to Him; then so severely to squeeze out of the People such vast Summes of *Money* as the Kings Ministers do.

In the second place, I would have some course to be taken for the promoting of Peoples Marrying, by the denying of some certain Honours and Priviledges to all such, who, being arrived to the Age of One and Twenty years, (unlesse they be Souldiers,) do not marry: for by this means the summes required for Virgins *Portions* in Marriage, which hath now rendred the Condition of Matrimony very hard, will be abated. And this is one of the Principal Elements of advancing a Common-Wealth, and was much made use of by the *Romans*. It would do very well also,

also, if a Law were made, that the daughters of no Tradesmen or Husbandmen, should bring above a Hundred Crowns to their Husbands for their Portions: and that within the compass of this Law should be included all those also, who have in former times ever been Tradesmen, or Mechanical persons. For now adaies, when any one hath scraped together but a Hundred Crowns, he presently puts the same out to use, and looks ever after to be called a *Gentleman*, quite bidding Adieu to his Profession: and thus the Kings Tributes are diminished, not without the losse and detriment of the rest of their fellow Subjects. But a Circumspect and wise Law-maker will be able to provide well enough against all these things.

Thirdly, let the King give leave to his Souldiers to seize upon Women in the *Low-Countries*, *England*, and *Africk*, and carry them away with them by force; which they may afterwards make their Wives, according as any of them shall be invited to do so by Mutual Love: and these Women thus caught up, I would have to be maintained at the Kings Charge; who, for this cause, must enlarge the Souldiers pay. But all these things are to be so ordered, that the *Dutch* Women be married to *Spaniards*, and the *African* Women either to *Germans*, or *Low-Dutch*, and the *Spanish* Women to *Italians*. For this the Law of Nature seems to require, that the Heat of the *Spaniard* should be rendered more fruitful by the *German* Juycinesse; and that the Fiery Temper of the *African* should be attempered, and allayed by the Cold and Moyst Constitution of the *Netherlander*; that so both Venereal Desires, and Fecundity too, may be the more excited, and procured; as I have formerly shewed in My *Philosophy*. And as concerning this Temperament, the *Italians* are good for both.

And from hence will arise two Advantages; the First whereof is, that these Women will embrace the Christian Faith: for, a Woman will never be of any other Religion then that which her Husband, whom she loves so dearly, is of: As your Northern Women, who are naturally cold, love their South-Country Husbands, who are hot: and the *Sabine* Young Women made peace betwixt the *Romans* their Ravishers, and the *Sabines* their Parents, that came to demand them of the *Romans*, and to have them home again. And St. Paul saith, that the Unbelieving

ving Wife is sanctified by her Believing Husband ; and so on the contrary.

The Second Advantage is , that by this meanes the King shall never be without good store of Souldiers , while He shall alwaies have his Souldiers Sons also to make Souldiers of. When therefore He shall once come to abound in Souldiers by reason of this course taken to promote Fructification , which I have now laid down ; it will be a means to inflame the Souldiers minds , and will exceedingly encourage them to go on against any Garrisons , or Fortified places of the Enemy , that so they may get themselves handsome women for their Wives , and afterward may lye still , and take their ease. And this was a Secret of *Plato's* finding out , that Souldiers should be stirred up , and encouraged to fight for Love. I would also have a Law made , that such Souldiers , as have taken away more Women then one , should be placed in some strong Holds , and keep Garison there ; and not be forced to follow the Camp : in like manner as at *Naples* , all those Souldiers that are married , are put into the Forts there : and it would do very well if such were sent away into some New Colonies of the *New World*.

Fourthly , let Him cause to be erected in each of his several Dominions , (as namely in *Spain* , *Naples* , the *Low-Countries* , &c. two , or four *Seminaries* of Souldiers , into which shall be put poor Mens Sons only , and Bastards ; which shall be here trained up to the Exercise of Armes ; acknowledging the King for their father , and none else : and these , after they are once grown up to be listed for Souldiers , shall go and seize upon Women where they can , in an enemies Country , which they may make their Wives. And this will be a means to encourage poor people to get children as fast as they can , as being certainly provided of one that will breed them up for them ; and the King also shall by this means be sure to have faithful Souldiers. But in Forreign Nations , let Him erect for every several Nation a several *Seminary* ; as for Example , let there be one for the *Moors* , and another for the Sons of the *Low-Dutch* : all which He shall cause to be brought up in Military Discipline , as the Great *Turk* doth his *Janizaries*.

And besides , there should be certain poor women maintained in the said *Seminaries* at the Kings Charge , who shall make the Souldiers

Souldiers beds, or may Spin and Weave cloath for the making of Sailes, or the like. Then again, that such as are too near of kin may not marry, contrary to the Orders of the Church; and withal, that those Marriages that are made, may prove the more fruitful, I would have *Italian* Women to be married to those that are of the *Seminaries* of the *Low-Countries*, or of *Spain*. For by this means also, there will not so many Idle persons enter themselves into Religious Orders, as there do, who are a great burthen to the Church: for as much as these Men make choice of this kind of Life, not out of any sense of Religion, but meerly being forced out of necessity; and so are a Scandal to the rest; and besides, the King is also hereby prejudiced, who by this means hath both the fewer Vassals, and Souldiers, and the smaller Subsidies also.

There may also be educated in these Cloysters, or Colledges, or call them what you please, people of all Nations whatsoever: for the maintenace of whom there may Revenues be taken out of the Allowances of Almes-houses, and Hospitals appointed for the Maintenance of Old Men, or of any other honest Men; or of such Friars, as by preaching about the Country get enough to sustain themselves; and toward this Charge there may be something exacted of all Usurers, as I shall shew hereafter, when I come to speak of the *Kings Treasure*. And by this means the Kings Revenue will be so far from being diminished, that if He do lay out any thing of his own, He will rather prove a gainer by it.

But now, it would be very advantagious for *Spain*, that the *Spaniards* should marry *Italian*, and *Low-Country* Women, and so make up one Family betwixt them: for by this meanes the whole World would by little and little be brought to embrace the Manners and Garbe of the *Spaniard*, and so would the easilier be brought into subjection. And those *Spanish* Souldiers that are at *Naples* are in an errour, while they seek onely for *Spanish* Women to make Wives of: and therefore the Vice-Roy there should see, that the *Spanish* Women should have *Italians*, or *Netherlanders* for their Husbands; on whom He should confer all the honours he can; especially, where these Marriages happen to be among the Barons, or other persons of quality.

Neither let any one think, that those *Seragli*, or Cloysters among the *Turks*, before spoken of, are a meere fiction: for this most excellent Design hath been practised in the Church ever since the Apostles time: and we see how many Colledges for young Students the Pope hath, both of *Germans*, *English*, and *Maronites*; that are as so many *Seminaries* of the *Faith*. And then, the *Orders* of *St. Dominick*, *S. Francis*, and the rest, are nothing else, but *Seminaries* of Apostolical Souldiers, who using no Armes, but their Tongue only, do bring the World in subjection: And These are the very Nerves of the Ecclesiastical Monarchy.

The Pope likewise promotes Men of all Nations to the Dignities both of Priests, Bishops, and Cardinals, having no respect either to Rich or Poor, *Barbarian* or *Roman*, (as the Apostle himself commanded) if so be they be but Wise, and Good Men. And hence it is, that His Dominion is so far extended, and so united within it self; namely through *Spain*, the *New World*, *Africk*, and *France*, as well as in *Italy*; and that by reason only of the Common Tie of Religion, and the Union of Men and Minds.

And therefore the King, whose design it is to procure an Association not of his Subjects Fortunes onely, but also of their Persons, and Armes; unlesse He be Powerful over their Religion too, which is the Bond of Mens Minds and Affections, He will have but a kind of an Estranged, and weak Dominion among them. And it is very evident, that the Emperour of *Germany*, by reason of his Subjects being of different Religions, is of lesse power, then either our King is, or the Duke of *Bavaria*. And hence it is therefore that the *Turks* have learnt Wisedome, to Our Prejudice and Damage: whilst we in the mean time transgresse against the Lawes of Policy, while we observe the *Roman*, or National Lawes. Wherefore the King might do, what would well become a Christian, if he would cause to be erected Colledges of Souldiers; and would also promote to Military Preferments, not Spaniards only, but all Persons of Worth and Valour whatsoever; by that means engaging them in the Spanish Manners, and Customs: for by so doing, He should be beloved as well by strangers, as by his own Subjects. And it is also consonant to the Opinion of *Thomas Aquinas*, to take
and

and baptize, in the *Seminaries*, such Children of Hereticks, and *Moors*, as have been taken from an enemy in time of War; though not to do so in time of peace: as, for example, to take the Children of *Jewes*, living at *Rome*, perhaps, and by force to baptize them: notwithstanding that *Scotus* approves of both these.

I would have the King likewise every seven years to pardon all such as are Banished Persons, or are guilty of Murder; upon condition that they shall serve Him as Souldiers in his Warres against *Africk*, or in the *New World*.

Let Him also make an Act, that each several Parish shall every year furnish him out one Souldier a piece; (which is a Proposal, Your Lordship saith, was made by a Friend of Yours in *Spain*;) for by this means there may be raised Threescore Thousand Souldiers, and more, in that Kingdom. It will therefore be very expedient, that there should an Union be made up betwixt the King and the Pope, as hath been before spoken of.

But it would be better, that every Baron, at the end of such a set term of years, should bring in to the King such a certain number of Souldiers: and it would be best of all, that the Baron himself also should go in person to the Wars, whensoever the King goes. And this ought to be observed not only in Spain, but in all other of the Kings Dominions: and likewise that other Rule, that only the Eldest sons shall inherit their Fathers Estates in all places what ever. But all these Rules cannot be observed any where to any great purpose, except the Foundation of the Nations be first reformed, namely, in Making of Marriages, and by erecting *Seminaries*, or Colledges of Souldiers; who should be such, as contenting themselves with Meat, and Drink, and Cloathes onely, shall have the Courage, through hope of Advancement, in case they approve themselves stout and Valiant persons, to attempt as daringly, and adventure upon all the most dangerous Undertakings, and those greater, then even the *Turks* Janizaries are wont to venture on. And let this suffice to have been spoken concerning the means of encreasing the Souldiery, and against the Depopulating of Countries.

As touching Captains, and Commanders in War, they ought not to be made out of that most Idle sort of men, whom they now adaies call *Nobiles*, Gentlemen: but rather let the most Stout and Valiant persons be chosen for this purpose; and such

as are inclined rather to Severity, as *Hannibal* was, then such as are of a Courteous Disposition, as was *Scipio*. And I would have these to be chosen out of the number of Souldiers, that have behaved themselves valiantly in fight, and such as have step by step got up to what places they are now in: Such as were *Marius*, *Sylla*, *Ventidius*, *Antonio de Leva*, *Cicala*, and *Occiali*. But the Person to whom the whole Charge of the War shall be committed, must be such a one as is of very great Authority amongst the souldiery, and one that is also of the Blood Royal. Or, if it be suspected, that such a one may possibly himself aspire to the Monarchy, let there be then one chosen out of the Barons, who shall be found the most fit for this Trust, and who is a man that is Eminent rather for Real Action, then for Shew and Ostentation.

In this case, that the King may proceed the more securely, Let Him erect a Councel, which shall consist of Wise, and Faithful persons, with some of some Religious Order or other joyned to them; from whose hands the Souldiers should receive their Pay. For there was nothing that did more promote the ruine of the Kings affaires in the *Low-Countries*, then the Souldiers being defrauded of their Pay. And therefore I would have those to be entrusted with the charge of Paying the Souldier, that are *Capuchins*; because that these men care for Mony the least of any Religious Order of Friers whatsoever.

And that there may never be wanting fit persons to be made Captains, and Commanders, there ought to be certain peculiar *Seminaries* erected for the education of the Second, and Younger Sons of Barons, and Gentlemen; who shall there be instructed in the Art of Riding the Great Horse, and using the Javeling, of raising Fortifications, and making assaults upon, and taking in of fortified places; likewise of marshalling of battels, and laying of sieges to places; also of managing a battel, and drawing out an Army into Companies, and how to give the Word of Command to the Souldiers, and lastly, how to train up fresh-water Souldiers: all which things *Hannibal* was instructed in, when he was yet but nine years old. But now, not onely the Souldiers having been cheated of their Pay, but also their Insolency after a Victory, and their contempt of too mild a Commander, often gives them occasion of Mutinying.

And therefore they are alwaies to be divided into Regiments,
and

and never the whole Army to lye all together, but when they are to go into the field to fight; because by this meanes the fear of the Enemy will keep them in due Obedience to their Commander. The neglect of this one thing was the cause of all those Mischeifs that the *Carthaginians* felt, after the Second *Punic* War; and it was destructive also to the *Romans* themselves, in the time of *Furius Camillus*. Let the Authors therefore of all Mutinies among the Souldiers be immediately put to death in the face of the whole Army, as *Speridius* heretofore was; and he that caused the Army of *Charles* the Fifth to Mutiny; So that he was forced to retreat back from *Austria*, and go into *Italy* again; For it is the duty of these men to be able to make use of their Swords, rather then of their Tongues. And what Persons soever are condemned to die, let them suffer by the hands of the Army, rather then by the Commanders; least by this meanes He should draw an Oidium upon himself. But yet he ought oftentimes to pardon those that are guilty of death, especially when not a few only, but the whole Army become intercessors for them: as was the case of *Papirius*, *Torquatus*, and *Drusus*, as it is reported by *Titus Livius*, and *Cornelius Tacitus*.

The Spaniards are good Foot Souldiers even in Mountainous places, or when they are to fight from a wall in defending any strong Hold. The *French* and *Netherlanders* are good Horsemen, and charge Notably well in an open field, and at the first Onset. The *Italians* would do well at both these, did not the abusing of their own proper Inclinations spoyl them. All Mountainous People, as the *Biscaines*, *Switzers*, and the *Italians* that inhabit the *Appennine*; So likewise the *Saxons*, are excellent Foot Souldiers, and are naturally desirous of Liberty; they are also accounted very faithful, though not very subtle. Those that inhabit Champian Countries, as the *Andalusians*, *Castilians*, *Austrians*, *Hungarians*, and *Neopolitans*, are excellent Horsemen; and are to be kept in Obedience by a strict hand; but they are each of them both an Unfaithful, and a subtle kind of People.

All these considerations a General must exactly observe, if he intends to manage his Army discreetly, and according to Art; unlesse he have the skill of judging of the dispositions of his Souldiers by Physiognomy, as *Julius Caesar* had.

After

After any of his Souldiers are arrived to the age of fifty yeares, he must then encourage them with gifts; that so they be may enticed to stay the longer in the Service; and when they once come to the age of five and fifty, he must either put them into Castles, and strong holds, or else he must dismisse them quite, and let them go to their homes. He must accustome his Souldiers also to carry burthens, or to carry forth the Earth in making Entrenchments, as the *Romans* were wont to do when they wanted men to dig their Trenches. Or let him put them to make Bridges, or to mend the Gallies, as *Casars* Army did in the Low-Countries and in England.

And although the Fortune of the Wars does not alwayes favour those that have the greatest Armies, as may be seen in the Example of *Alexander* the Great, who with Thirty Thousand Old Souldiers subdued the whole World: and of *Scanderbeg*, and of *Julius Caesar* also, who with small numbers conquered Multitudes, yet however it is a very good thing to be alwaies provided with good full numbers of Souldiers.

And hence it is, that the *Turk* hath almost in all Battels been the Conquerour: for having such a multitude of Souldiers as he hath, and placing all the most Inconsiderable of them in the Van, our Souldiers having spent themselves in fighting with, and cutting off these, are at length fallen upon by the Janizaries who are fresh, as not having struck a stroak before, and so are overcome. This Course of his, I confesse I should like well enough, were it not a wicked and Inhumane one. Therefore such Commanders are to be sent into the Wars, as are both Expert Souldiers, and such as will propose to themselves the Advantage, and Glory of Christianity only, and not their own glory; Neither ought He upon every slight occasion to expose his men to death. And besides, the General must sometimes, as occasion shall require, take care in person of his maimed, and sick Souldiers; that by this means He may the more indear himself to them. He is also to have Preachers to go along with him in his Army, who are to put him in mind of God, after the Example of the *Maccabees*. And if a Commander would conquer his enemy with a small number, it will concern him that he have more of his own Souldiers with him, then either of Auxiliaries, or Hired Souldiers, or of those that are Guarders of the Frontiers: least, when they come to the point, they all run away.

There

There are many more Observations required to the making up of a Perfect Commander ; all which I cannot here set down ; my design being at present to deliver such things as concern Spain only. But above all, care must be taken, that the Souldiers be not used like Beasts ; who, if they have but their wages duly paid them ; and, if when they are wounded, they be carefully looked to ; and be encouraged also to shew themselves Valiant men through the hopes of Military glory, and by hearing good Preachers, and by rewards ; they will then never think either of running away, or of Revolting ; which are two of the greatest Mischiefs that can befall an Army.

I would also have some persons appointed, out of some of the Religious Orders, to commit to writing the famous and memorable Acts of each particular Souldier ; which should be read openly, before the King, when ever He bestowes rewards upon his Souldiers. For this is the reason, why the Barons refuse to serve in person in the Wars, saying ; *The King himself is not there, to be an eye witness of my Valour ; and I cannot confide in the treacherous Memories of Envious Commanders.*

Neither would I have the Souldiers to be rewarded with Money only, but sometimes also with some Coronet, either of *Oak*, or of *Olive* ; which is a most Magnificent argument of Honour to them, and of no charge to the Prince ; and by this means they will be the more faithful, and constant to Him. For another mans Money may in like manner buy and sell perhaps that Faith, which you have so purchased of them ; but such Honour it cannot : seeing it is a most ignominious thing, even in the esteem of an Enemy himself, for any one to forsake his King. And therefore it should be lawful for any man to kill such a one, as should begin to run away ; or, that goes abroad a pillaging without the leave of his Commander : which very thing hath often hindered the obtaining of Victory against the Enemy ; and those that are of least account in the Army do by these courses enrich themselves, while the Valiant Souldier fights it out to the last drop of blood in his body. What Souldier soever shall fill up the place of his slain fellow-Souldier, or protects him, and saves his life ; he should have a Coronet of *Oak* granted him : This was called by the *Romans*, *Corona Civica*. That Souldier, that shall first get upon the Enemies Walls, should have a *Mural Coronet*, made of Herbs wreathed together in form of a Coronet ; which

which he should receive at the hands of the General ; whiles the rest of the Army standing round about shall celebrate his Gallantry with Acclamations and Songs, according to the ancient custome of the *Romans*. For, these two things, *Punishment*, and *Reward*, are the two Pillars whereon all Military Discipline is founded and built : the Former whereof deterrs the Souldier from wicked courses ; as the latter pricks him on to do gallant things : the Former was devised for the restraining of Vile, Rebellious spirits ; as the latter was for the Encouragement of the Generous, and Valiant : the former serves instead of a *Bridle*, as the later doth of a *Spur*.

Alexander the Great erected, for the honour of his Souldiers that were Slain at the River *Granicus*, Statues of Marble, in a most stately manner. The King of *Siam*, that he might encourage his Souldiers to fight bravely, took care to have the names of all those that had behaved themselves Gallantly in the Wars, to be registred in a Book, and afterwards to be recited before him : which was the custome also of King *Ahasuerus*, as the holy Scripture testifieth.

Whensoever there are any designs on foot for the gaining any large Kingdom, or Empire ; the King ought alwayes to go in person to the Wars ; because that Princes that are Warlike, alwaies get more then those that are [sluggish and negligent : which is a consideration of great importance for all such Princes, as desire to enlarge their Dominions. But if they care only to preserve their own, they may then stay at home themselves ; provided that they set Valiant, and faithful Commanders over their Souldiers. However, it will concern a Prince that he get an opinion of being a Warlike man, unlesse he mean to be despised by all People ; or let him make an open shew that he loves Wars. And to the end that He may be the more secure of Victory, let him alwaies take with him good store of Souldiers ; that so he may neither lose his reputation, nor be despised by his Enemies.

Those Defeats of his Armies are the least hurtful to Him, where He himself was not present at the Engagement. Strength of his forces at Sea, wherein the *Genoese*, *Portugals*, and *Hollanders* do most excel, is also a most necessary businessse. For, whoever shall make himself master of the Seas, the same shall command all by Land also.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Treasury of Spain.

IT is necessary that the King have a full Treasury, if it be but for the keeping up of his Reputation abroad : for, as the World goes now a dayes, the Power of Princes is valued according to the fullness of their Purfes, rather then the largeness of their Territories. And therefore not only in the time of War, but of peace also, it behoves a Prince to have alwaies good store of ready Mony by him : For it is a very hard, and dangerous businesse also, especially when He is now already engaged in a War, to expect, and wait till monies can be raised.

Tolle moras : Semper nocuit differre paratis.

It is necessary therefore, that there be Monies alwayes in a readinesse for the raising of Souldiers in an instant : least while you are employed in getting Mony together, your Enemy be before hand with you. To this end *Augustus Caesar* erected a Military Treasury, as *Suetonius* testifieth ; and that he might alwaies, and without any trouble be provided of Mony for the raising, and paying of his Souldiers, he filled the same with New Taxes, and Impositions. And certainly very many wonder how it comes to passe, that the King of Spain, whose yearly Revenues amount to above twenty Millions, hath not by this time made Himself Universal Monarch of all Christendome, nor hath all this while so much as as once set upon the *Turk*.

To whom I answer, that this is nothing at all to be wondered at, if they would but take notice, that the reason of this it, because He hath not the skill to lay hold on *Occasion*, when it is offered Him ; which very thing hath hitherto upheld the Fortune of all Great Empires, For there was an *Occasion* given him at the Uniting of the Kingdomes of *Castile* and *Aragon*, and of *Naples*, and *Millan* : but there was a much fairer offered to *Charles* the V. who was a man of a Warlike spirit ; & being King of Spain, was afterwards chosen also Emperour of *Germany* ; by al which advantages He might have been able to have made himself Lord of

the whole Earth, had He but known as well how to give Lawes to those He conquered, as He knew how to conquer them. This Prince took *Tunis*, and having driven thence *Ariodenus* the *Turk*, He made *Muleasses* King of that place, without changing the former State of the Kingdom at all. After this He conquered *Germany*; that is to say, the *Protestant Princes* there: whom He devested of their Electoral Dignity, substituting into their places their Brethren, and Kinsmen: but otherwise, leaving them in the same State He found them. And although He had once got *Luther* himself into his hands and power; yet, looking after the empty Fame only of being accounted a Merciful Prince, He let him go again; that so he might have the opportunity (forsooth) of seducing all *Germany*, and the *Netherlands*. He took *Francis*, the King of *France*; and then set him again at liberty; that so he might raise up a new War against Him, and thereby frustrate all that He had done before. He also took in the Cities of *Sienna*, *Florence*; and bestowed them upon the Family of the *Medici*; that so He might procure himself more powerful enemies by the bargain. For, whosoever is raised by any one to some degree of Power, what service soever is due from him to his Rayser, he will be sure to decline the doing it as much as he can: and therefore he seeks all the occasions he can of shaking off the Yoak, that he may make his Benefactor, his Enemy: which very thing was done by the Dukes of *Florence*, and by *Maurice*, Prince Elector of *Saxony*, against *Charles* the Fifth.

And indeed such Benefits as, by reason of the greatnesse of them, cannot any way be returned; commonly they draw a hatred upon the Virtue of the Benefactor: as we see it evidently fell out in the case betwixt the aforementioned *Francis*, King of *France*, and *Charles* the Fifth.

Another cause that this Monarchy hath not yet hitherto been brought about, is this, because that *Philip* could not succeed his Father, not so much as in the War, and therefore lost both the *Low Countries*, together with the Imperial Titles. But that Affliction which also fell upon him by the losse of *Charles*, his Son, was the most grievous of all the rest: for he would have been able to have maintained the Wars in His stead: which seeing the King of *Spain* is not able to do, He is constrained alwaies to defend, and make good the bounds of his Kingdom rather

rather, than to endeavour to enlarge them : and to look to his Commanders, and see that they do not pillage the Countries where their Command lies, and enrich themselves out of the Kings Treasure ; it being their onely care, how to keep up such a Trade of War, by which they may make advantage to themselves, rather than any way enlarge the Kings Dominions.

I shall therefore here lay down these Rules, (though they are not so proper for this place) that when any new Country is conquered, that is of a different Religion, and manner of Government, the Natives are presently to be removed out of it, and carried into some other Country, where they may serve as Slaves ; and their Children are to be Baptized, and may be either put into the *Seminaries* before spoken of, or else sent into the *New World* ; and into this conquered Country may be sent Colonies of Spaniards, under the conduct of some Wise and faithful Commander. Which Course ought to have been taken by *Charles the Fifth* at *Tunis* ; who should also have carried away *Mulleasses* to *Naples*. And He should by right have done the very same thing in *Germany* ; namely, in *Saxony*, in the Marquisat of *Brandenburg*, and the Lantgravedome of *Hessen* : into which Countries He should have sent New Colonies, under the Command of New Governours.

The Free Cities also He should have suppressed and have taken away their Priviledges : and lastly, He should have made Three Cardinals the Governours of all *Germany*.

But when any New Country is taken in, that is not of a different Religion, but only differing in Government, let Him then change nothing at all, in matters that concern the People : but only let Him set strong Guards upon the Country ; and let the Chief Officers be chosen all out of the Kings party, but the Inferiour out of the Common People of the place : the Lawes whereof may also be altered by little and little, and made to conforme to the Kings Lawes, either by heightning, or abating the rigour of them, according as the Condition and Temper of the place shall require. All Authors, or Heads of *Factions* must be presently removed out of the way, either by Death, if they have been Enemies ; or, if they have been friends, they must be carried away into Spain, that they may there receive

Baronies for their reward, or may have liberty of free Traffick into the Kings Dominions granted them. But the Chief Heads of such People as He shall subdue, He must never suffer to continue in their places; which course ought to have been taken with the *Strozzi, Medici, Cappones, Petruccij*, and other Ringleaders and Heads of Factions, at *Sienna*, and *Florence*.

And indeed the same Course should have been taken with *Francis* King of *France*, that so he might have had no further opportunity of attempting any thing against *Charles* the V. But as for the Hereticks, and *Luther*, the best way would have been to have suppressed them, under some other Pretense, presently after the breaking up of the Diet at *Ausburg*; as I shall shew hereafter.

And if *Charles* the Fifth had but taken these Courses, He had never left behind him so much work and trouble for King *Philip*; and perhaps his young son *Charles* too might have been alive at this day; and might perhaps by His Arms have added *Africk, Hungary, Macedonia, Italy*, and *England* to his Dominions. But He, as I have before said, was the onely cause of all those Evills, which we see at this day. So that I do not wonder at all, that notwithstanding the vast Treasures of the King of Spain, yet the bounds of His Monarchy are not all this while enlarged. But I rather wonder, that so Wealthy a Prince hath not laid up all such his Revenues, for Necessary Uses against times of need; which might have been his ruin. For if so be his Negotiation by Sea should be stoppt, or interrupted but for one five, or six yeares space together, or that his Plate Fleet should be intercepted in its return home from the West-Indies, would it not be so sore a cut to him, as that he must of necessity be forced to oppresse his own Subjects by laying most heavy and unusual Taxes upon them, and so draw upon himself their Hate? and besides, should he not also undoe all his Merchants, and defraud his Souldiers of their Pay, and by that means be in danger of losing them upon every the least Occasion? And indeed it is a thing much to be wondered at, how, and which way such vast Summes of Mony should come to be wasted, and yet the King not any thing at all the better for it; for we see, that He is still Poor for all this, and is almost continually borrowing Mony of others. And therefore I say, that it is Impossible, but that things should

should alwayes succeed ill with Him, so long as there is no provision made for the remedying of this mischief.

Yet I do not say, that a Kings whole strength consists only in his Mony; but He is to consider, that Mony alone will do little toward the subduing of an Enemy. And indeed we read that *Julius Caesar*, by his great knowledge in Military affaires, and having withal the love of his Souldiers, though they were but a very Small Army, to speake of, yet for all this conquered the whole World. And so likewise the *Saracens*, *Tartarians*, and *Hungues*, without any Mony, made themselves Lords of almost the whole World. We confesse therefore, that Mony is of Excellent good use, and most necessary for a Prince, for the Preserving and making good the Bounds of his Dominions; but not at all for the enlarging of them, by adding New Provinces to the same. And therefore let him believe, that the sinews of his Strength lye in something else then his Mony. For, that Faith that is purchased by Mony, may again be sold for Mony. And therefore I beseech you, do but observe, how in *France* our King *Philip* by his mony procured the Dukes of *Maine*, *Joyeuse*, *Mercoeur*, and *Guise*, to take up Armes against the King of *Navarre*; and then again, how the King of *Navarre* by the same meanes got over the very same men to His side, after they found King *Philip* to be grown somewhat close-fisted, and not to come off with his Mony so freely as before. And in like manner the Commanders, and Souldiers in the Low-Countries do now a daies rather exercise the profession of *Hucksters*, then of Souldiers: for, they do not fight, that they may overcome their Enemy; but that they may make a gain of their serving in the Wars; And so have made Armes, which are the Instruments of Monarchy, to be the Instruments of their Covetousnesse, and their Sports. And the King deceives himself, whiles He pursues all Covetous Designs; for, He hath Mony enough, if he have but Souldiers enough; and if there be withal but Mutual love betwixt him and them, and a due regard had to their several merits; which things if they be wanting, he shall be sure to be a sufficient Loser in the end.

First therefore, and above all things, let the King endeavour to treasure up to himself the Minds and Affections of his Subjects and Vassals, and indear himself to them, by his own Gallantry, both in Peace, and in War; making Himself admired by
them.

them, by making profession of, and proposing to them some New Sciences, &c. as hath been said before.

Secondly, let Him raise himself a Treasure of his Subjects *Bodies*, by causing them to multiply by Frequency of *Marriages*; to which they are to be encouraged by Honours, and other Inticements, &c. as was also touched before.

And in the Third place, let Him raise himself a Treasure out of the Wealth of his Subjects, whiles He makes them Rich, by taking care that *Agriculture*, and Manuring of the Ground be promoted; and that the making of Silks, Woollen Cloath, and the like Useful and Profitable Arts, and Trades be set on foot, and diligently followed; rather, then that such Courses should be taken, as we see now adaies every where; whiles in the smaller Towns, most people give themselves to Usury; and in the Greater Cities men for the most part apply themselves to Merchandise, and Extorsion: The *Pope* raises up his Treasures in the Minds of Men; and therefore is He a Conquerour; because that This, being conjoyned with Eloquence and Wisedom, is the onely Instrument by which that Treasure is acquired. And hence it was, that the *Saracens*, by the use of their *Tongue*, and also by making Profession of New Sciences, and of a *New Religion*, became Conquerours. *Julius Caesar* raised Himself a Treasure both in Minds and Bodies; by His own Personal Virtue and Gallantry, winning to himself, and obliging the Hearts, and Affections of the Whole Souldiery. But the *Tartarians*, and *Hunnes* did this by Bodies only; rendring them so Fruitful, as that by reason of their Vast numbers, they were fain to leave their Native soyl, marching out of it in huge bodies, (like swarms of Bees) and seizing upon others Territories. But now the King may, by His Own just Right, exact all these Treasures at the hands of his Subjects; as namely, *Religion*, by placing Able Preachers among them; *Love*, by Good Lawes, the Subjects Profit, and True Justice; and Multiplication of them, by the Waies before laid down, where I spoke touching the encreasing of the Number of the Souldiery: and let Him require of each severall Nation, that, which they most abound in; as, *People*, from the *Germans*; *Souldiers*, from the *Spaniards*; *Commanders in War*, and *Garmens*, from the *Italians*; from the *West-Indies*, *Gold*; But not the contrary.

We may truly affirm, that the *New World* hath in a manner undone

undone the *Old*; for it hath sown Covetousnesse in our Minds, and hath quite extinguished Mutual Love among men. For, all the World are wretchedly in love with *Gold* only: and hence it is, that Men are become Deceitful, and Fraudulent in their dealings, and have often sold, and re-sold their Faith for Hire; because they saw that *Mony* was That, that did the businesse every where, and that was held in Admiration by all people; and so They are come now to despise all Sciences, and Holy Sermons, in comparison of *Mony*; and have bid Adieu both to Agriculture, and other Arts, applying themselves only to look after the Fertility and Increase of *Mony*, and to get themselves into Rich Mens houses. It hath likewise Introduced a great Disparity amongst Men, making them either too Rich, whence they become Proud, and Insolent; or else, leaving them too Poor, whence proceeds Envy, Theft, and Open Robbery. Hence also it is, that the prices of Corn, Wine, Flesh, Oyl, and Cloath, are very much raised; because that no man applies himself to this kind of Merchandise; whence followes Want, and Penury; and yet Monies in the mean while must be laid out: In so much, that the poorer sort, being not able to hold out in the world, are faine either to put themselves into service; or else betake themselves to robbing upon the High-Way, or else turn Souldiers, being necessitated to do so through Poyerty, and not at all for Love either of the King, or of Religion; and many times also they run away from their Colours, or else change them: neither do they endeavour to get Children in a Lawful Way of Marriage, because they are not able to pay Taxes: or else perhaps they try all the waies that possibly they can, to get to be admitted into some Covent or other for Friers, or Preachers. I therefore here leave it to the King to consider, whether or no He may not rather be overcome by *Gold*, which is the Cause of so many Evils.

I say therefore, that there are many things here that stand in need of a Reformation, that so the Kings Treasury may grow Rich, and that He himself may have greater Testimonies of his Subjects Love, and Fidelity: which might easily be brought about, if so be that those Rules before laid down, touching the encreasing the Number of the Subjects, and the remitting and abating the Taxes and Exactions laid upon them, were but observed: and if the King, going into the Wars Himself in person

son, would by that means chalk out, to his Wife and Valiant Commanders, and Souldiers, the Way to Honour, rather then to Covetousnesse; and would also propose New Arts, and Sciences. So likewise if He would make some such Lawes, to which those that are *Obedient*, should have their former honours continued to them; but the Refractory, and *Disobedient* should have Disgraces cast upon them: and to perswade Obedience to which Lawes, there should in the Second place, some *Profit*, and Advantage be proposed for such: but, in the Third place, before the Disobedient should be laid down the *Fear* of Punishment: to which our Modern Writers absurdly attribute the First Place, in Relation to the due Observing of Lawes; who having regard to the *Time* rather, then to *Religion*, require *Fear* in Subjects, rather then *Love*: because that the Rulers of the *Gentiles* preferred this Later, before the Former; and so taught that Wicked Wretch, *Macchiavel*, and other the like Politicians, those Rules.

But if there be no place left for a Reformation, it is then necessary, that, respect being had to the Present Abuses, there should be good store of Treasure got up together; lest at length the King should be undone by Use-Mony, or some other Losses should fall upon him; in case the Plate Fleet should not return back from the *West-Indies* in three or four years together perhaps. I shall first therefore lay down the Usual Rules, in this case; and then, such other as I my self have thought upon.

First therefore, there must be matter administred for the promoting of *Usury*, and *Usurers*; and every one of them is to be bound, under a certain Penalty, to have alwaies a stock of Monies lying by them; that so, when there shall be any Necessity, the King may know where to fetch presently good store of Large Summes of Mony: Which Course is to be taken in all the chief Cities, both in the Kingdome of *Naples*, and of *Spain*. Then, when any great War is near at hand, the said Summes of Mony are to be called for at the said Usurers hands; and that, by the intervening too of the Popes Authority, that so the King may not draw upon himself alone the Hatred, and Ill Will of his Subjects.

Secondly, let him introduce the *Tribute* of *Apulia*, (which was brought up by King *Ferdinand*) through all the Provinces that

that are under him, imposing it either in the same, or some other the like Form.

Thirdly, let Him cause all the *Barons* to bring in what Summes of Mony they have, binding them thereto in the name of *Religion*, and the Crown of *Spain*, to which they are joyned, and engaged.

Fourthly, let Him procure of the Pope *Indulgences* and *Croisados* for all his Kingdomes; and those Summes of Mony, that shall be raised by the same, He shall lay up in some Treasury, where they may encrease to such a quantity, as that an Army may be raised out of them, which may be sent into the *Holy Land*.

Fifthly, let Him get an Injunction from the Pope, that, for the space of five years, all Churches, Monasteries, Bishopricks, and Parishes throughout all his Provinces, shall pay in a certain sum of Mony into *The Sacred Treasury*, so called, as being collected for the making of a War against the Infidels; that is to say, *Five* in the *Hundred*, of all their Revenues; but so, that every year there should be an abatement made of *One*: As namely, the first year they should pay *Five* in the *Hundred*, the second year *Four*, the third *Three*, and so on, till the five years be expired. But the *Venetians* exact the Tenth. And this Course may be taken, betwixt the King and the Pope, under the Pretense of making a War upon the Infidels. After all this is done, let Him then appoint two Bishops to be the Treasurers of this Mony.

Sixthly, let the King, by his Treasurers, traffick in every Country, with such Commodities as are used there; as in *Calabria*, with Silks; in *Apulia*, with Wheat; in *Sicily*, with Oyl; for by this means He will divert his Subjects from applying themselves to Usury, and will cause them to attend more the Manuring of the Ground, and withal will hereby mightily enrich Himself.

Seventhly, let Him send out into every City, and Town, especially in the Kingdom of *Naples*, a Commissary, having a Counsellour joyned with him, who shall be one of the Clergy, to make enquiry into all Usurers; and to cause Them to make it appear by the testimony of Three Witnesses, that they have taken no other Use, then what is allowed to be taken by the custome of the Kingdom: and where they shall find any to have done otherwise, to seize upon all they are worth, and carry it away to some publick place for the King's use.

But then, the King may afterwards restore half of it to them again, if he think fit: as for example; suppose his Officers took away from any of these Usurers Ten Thousand Crownes; He may then restore to the Owner Five Thousand Crownes of his Mony again. For they are a hateful sort of People, and are despised by all men; so that you need never fear that they will rebel: and besides, the people, when ever they see Them ruined, will be very glad of it, neither will any of them take their parts; and indeed the Usurers themselves, when they have half of their estates left them, will think themselves very well dealt withal. And with the rest of such Monies the King may set up *A Bank of Charity*, where poor people shall take up Monies upon their *Pawn*; but upon this condition, that if they redeem not their *Pawn* by the Limited Time, that then it shall be forfeit to the King. And afterward with the Mony arising from hence, He may drive a Trade of Merchandise, as the Usurers themselves use to do: or else He may with those monies erect *Cloysters*, or *Seminaries* for Souldiers, and Poor Women, as hath been shewed before. And if some of the Clergy were sent abroad with the like Commissions to inquire into the Barons also, it would do them much good, both in reference to their Soul, Body, and State; who otherwise by their arts would swallow up, and devour the whole World.

Eighthly, let Him require an Account of all the Kings Ministers, and Commissioners, for the whole time of their being employed in their Offices: and whatsoever Fines shall be set upon their heads, let it be put into the Treasury; or the King may remit half to them, if he please; or lesse, as he shall see cause: and by taking this course with them, both Himself and his Subjects shall be much advantaged, and have cause to rejoyce.

Ninthly, let Him call all those before Him, that have been condemned by any Sentence of Judgment, or have any waies been branded with any Note of Infamy; and let Him command all such Judgments passed against them, within the space of five years past, to be burnt: by which Act of His, the Offenders will reckon themselves highly honoured; but yet, for this favour of the Kings, they shall be bound to pay down such a certain Summe of Mony.

Tenthly, let every one that enters first into any great City, such as *Naples* is, or into any Garrison, such as is that
of

of *Cotron*, pay something at his entrance, under pretense of taking notice of all that enter in. Then, let there be an Imposition laid upon all things whatsoever, that are used both for Necessity and Superfluity; but upon things of Necessary use, as Meat, Drink, Oyl, and the like, the Imposition should not be great; but upon things of superfluity, it should be higher. As, upon Cards, let there be put an Imposition of two Carolines; and upon Dice, one Caroline; upon every *Quire of Writing Paper*, one *Grain*; upon every pair of *Gloves*, half a Caroline: but upon *Silks*, and Garments richly wrought with Needlework, and Embroideries of Silver and Gold, there must be higher Impositions laid, for the benefit of the King. But I would have the greatest Impositions to be laid upon *Whores*; as at *Naples*, and in all other places, the Tax should be encreased half a *Ducat* upon every Bawdy-house. Neither should Baths, or Play-houses, and Players be exempted from these Impositions; nor yet Innes, Taverns, or any Houses of Publick entertainment whatsoever. And in all things let the Rule before laid down be observed; namely, that *Necessary* things should have but a small Imposition put upon them; but a Greater, upon those that are *not necessary*.

Likewise the King, when He is pressed by any great Necessity of the State, may have an Estimate made of all his Subjects Lands, and accordingly impose Taxes and Tributes upon the same. And that this should be done, is both Right and Just: for, every *Private Good* ought to serve the *Publique Good*; without which, mens Private Estates could not be upheld, and subsist. But I would have these to be, not *Personal*, but *Real Taxes*; that is, they should not be levied upon the Persons, by the Pole, but upon their Estates: lest otherwise the whole burthen of these Taxes should ly upon the shoulders of the Poor only, as it uses to do for the most part. For the Gentry use to shake off the burthen that is imposed upon them, and cast it upon the Commons; as, in like manner, the Principal Cities cast off theirs upon the Countryman: which is against all Justice and Equity in the World. Neither ought any Goods to be Taxed, but only such as are Certain, and Immoveable; for, the Duke of *Alva*, going about to lay a Tax upon all Goods indifferently, as well Moveable, and Uncertain, as others, caused the whole Country of the *Netherlands* to rise up against him. And if at any time, when the Urgent

Necessities of the Kingdome shall so require, you will lay a Taxe upon Moveable, and Uncertain Goods also ; I should like it well enough, if there were the same course taken in proceeding herein, as they use to take in some certain Cities of *Germany* ; as namely, *Norimberg*, *Aussburg*, *Collen*, and some others ; where they use to put every man to his Oath. Yet that way of Imposing Taxes is the more Just, and Legal, that put them upon all manner of Merchandise, and Commodities, that are either exported abroad, or imported into any of the Kings Dominions : for it is but Just, and Reasonable, that whosoever makes any gain to himself in Our Country, or by our Commodities, he should pay something in Consideration thereof.

And whereas all Such Merchants are either the Kings Subjects, or else are Forraigners ; it is fit that we should exact greater *Customs* from Forraigners, then from our Own Merchants : which Rule the Great *Turk* observes at this day ; exacting Ten in the Hundred upon all Commodities that are imported from *Alexandria* by Forraigners ; but taking but Five in the Hundred of his own Merchants. In *England* all Forrain Merchants pay four times as much in *Customs*, as the Natives do ; but in *Denmark* they pay but three times ; and so their payments are diverse, according to the diversity of Places.

To summe up all in a Word ; Wheresoever all those things that are Necessary for the Substantiation of Mans Life, are found in greatest Abundance and Plenty, to that place will there ever be a Conflux of Riches : so that it will concern every Prince to use his Utmost endeavours in bringing his Subjects to apply themselves to Husbandry, and the following all sorts of Arts and Manufactures : of which we have spoken elsewhere more at large. Then, I would have all those Waies of raising of Mony, that are hateful to the People, either to be quite taken away, or else to have some other name put upon them : in like manner as the Taxes also, and Impositions paid into the Exchequer ought to be somewhat abated, and to be exacted of the Subject under some other Name. And hence it was, that *Augustus Caesar* did not stile Himself, King, but onely, *Tribune* ; because that the Name of a *King* was hateful to the *Romans*. And therefore I would have the name of *Tribute*, to be changed to *Erogations*, or *Contribution* : and these Names also I would have to be altered perpetually. And because the Name of *Donative* is now become
hateful,

hateful, and loathsome to the People, the King may do well to lay aside that Name, and put some Other upon it. But I shall not discourse so very Particularly, and Punctually of these things here, as I could.

The Kings Trafficking with the *Genoeses*, is as good as a Treasure to Him: let Him therefore use all the means He can, to procure liberty of exercising the like Traffick and Commerce with other Nations and Countries. There are also many other Extraordinary Profits which Princes may raise to themselves, partly from their Own Subjects, and partly also from Forraigners: such as are *Casualties*, *Confiscations*, *Escheats*, *Donatives*, *Portions*, *Honoraries*, as they call them, and many other the like; of all which I should speak particularly: But I have resolved to keep this discourse, till I shall have an opportunity of speaking thereof in the presence of his Majestie.

CHAP. XVII.

*Of the Peoples Love, and Hate: and also of
Conspiracies.*



It may perhaps be thought fit by some, that in Common-Wealths, Mutual Love should be maintained amongst all Fellow-Citizens, for the benefit of the Publick; as we see it is among the *Venetians*: But that in all *Monarchical* Governments, Hatred, and Dissentions are to be sown abroad among the Subjects, lest otherwise, when any of them were injured by the Prince, the rest should joyn in revenging their fellow-Subjects wrong upon the Prince; or lest they should at any time all Unanimously conspire against Him: and so all the Subjects Love should be joyntly bent against the King. But this Rule is most Absurd, several waies.

First, because it makes the King to be a most cruel Tyrant, who takes care of Himself alone, and not of his Subjects in General: and so by this means, through the mutual Hatred of his Subjects, the King doth not at all procure their Love, but rather.

rather kindles their Envy against himself, and so lives in continual fear.

Secondly, because all Natural Dominion requires Concord amongst the People, that so they may be able more stoutly, and effectually to resist all Enemies whatsoever; and may oblige one another by Mutual Offices, both at home, and in War. And therefore all good Lawgivers have used their utmost Endeavors, to procure a Union, and, as it were, a knitting together of Subjects, by the Bonds of Mutual Love, and of Unity in Religion: and therefore they have provided, that they should All meet together in Churches, to the end that they might the better know the reason why they ought to love one another: For, *Ignoti nulla cupido*: No man desires, what He knowes not. And upon this Consideration it was, that *Plato* forbid all *Private Chappels*: and *Moses* also gave order, that there should be erected but One Temple only, in the whole Kingdom of the *Jews*; that so, all of them concurring, and agreeing together in One Religion, and in the Love of One Only God, might every way fill up one compleat Mutual Love amongst themselves. And to this end, besides Marriages, were *Clienteles*, or Multitudes of Clients, and Followers designed; and diverse other Institutions, tending to the promoting, and advancing of Mutual Profit, and Advantage.

As likewise Companies of Merchants; and Officious Relations to great Persons, taken up upon designe of doing them Service, or Honour. And all these things are profitable to the Prince; But so is not the Hatred of his People; for this proved very Prejudicial to *France*. And such Contests betwixt the Prince and his Subjects have made for the Advantage of the See of *Rome*, when ever the People got the better of it: Although the Contrary happened in *Florence*. For there, the Conquering *Plebeians* did not raise themselves to the Condition of Gentlemen; but, on the contrary the Gentry debased themselves down to the state of *Plebeians*; the Contrary whereof happened at *Rome*. And therefore my Advice is, that the Prince should use his utmost endeavour to procure, that there be a Mutual love and Correspondence among his Subjects.

Now this Mutual Love is maintained, First, by their Unity in Religion; and by rooting out all those that endeavour to sow Tares abroad; which was the Losse of the *Netherlands*.
Secondly,

Secondly, by Spaniards marrying with any other Nations whatsoever ; Thirdly, by having Commerce and Traffick with Several Nations ; Fourthly, by Introducing an equality amongst them ; for this is an Error, which hath now spread it self over all the Christian World, that One man should be very Poor, and another very Rich ; which was a thing that *Plato* hated perfectly. Whereas a Parity, or Equality between Fellow-Subjects is a meanes of removing all Envy, Rapine, Pride, Hatred, and Effeminatenesse from among them. And hence it was, that *Moses* commanded the *Jewes*, that every Seventh Year, all Families should have their Inheritances restored unto them again ; and all Servants, that were of their own Nation, should be set at liberty, and have also something given them by their Patrons, at their going off; withall informing them, that this was agreeable to the Law, and will of God. And for this reason also *Almshouses*, *Hospitals*, and other the like Places for Charitable uses were erected ; that so Honour might be preserved amongst them with some Equality.

Salust testifieth, that there were never any Conspiracies contrived by any of the *Romans* against their Country, till such time as a Few persons had gotten into their hands the Wealth of Many ; that is to say, such as *Crassus*, *Pompey*, and *Cesar*. And in *Luthers*, and *Calvin's* time, the Country Peasants in *Germany* rose up in Armes against the Nobility and Gentry, only because those Two having trampled under foot the Evangelicall Truth, had sown Tares, and the Seeds of Sedition, and Subversion of States every where ; to the ruine of whole Kingdomes.

And even in our daies also we see, that you shall have one Man that hath a hundred Thousand Crowns a year ; and a Thousand other men again that have hardly each of them a Hundred Crowns a year a piece. And all that Wealth will He spend upon Dogs, Horses, Jestors, and in Gold Trappings for his Horses ; or else upon Whores, which is worse. And if at any time a Poor man shall be put to go to Law with him for any thing, he is so far from being able to prosecute his Action against Him, as that he is rather faine to get out of the way as fast as he can, or else he may chance to be forced to end his dayes in Prison : Mean while that the Rich man does every where what he lists, without controule ; because, forsooth, He hath Mony to corrupt the

the Judges with. And indeed, our Judges, for the most part, are such as have been made Judges either for Favour, or for Mony; as we see it commonly falls out in all Smaller Cities: which certainly is a most Pernicious thing to all Principalities. For, it is almost an Impossible thing, that a Judge that will take a Bribe, should ever discharge his Office honestly: For, as God himself testifieth, *A Gift blindeth the Wise*. Which, it is very likely, will be the practise of him that buyeth his Office with Mony; and so entrencheth into it, not as into a Field overrun with Thorns and Briers, but rather as into a most plentiful and rich Harvest. And therefore I shall here take the liberty (though it be somewhat beside my present purpose) to admonish all Politicians whatsoever, that they should take this for a certain Rule; that *Whosoever sells his Offices for Mony, the same desires that his Ministers should be Thieves*. Lewis the Twelfth of France was wont to say, that those that buy Offices, were like Merchants; who buy Goods altogether at any easie rate; and afterwards sell them off in parcels at a dear rate. But to returne to our purpose.

Although our Rich Man is very liberal, and is at great cost and charges in the maintaining, and richly cloathing of his Servants and Retainers; Yet is not the Common-wealth any thing at all the better for this, but rather suffers by it.

First of all, because by this means He obligeth them to Himself only, and makes them so much his own, as that they will be ready to follow Him against any person whatsoever, even the King himself: which thing was attempted heretofore by that *Roman, Spurius Melius*, against his Country: and therefore the *Venetians*, fearing this very thing, suffer not any to keep about them any great Retinue. Then besides, it renders them soft, and Effeminate; and makes them to be Flatterers, and Proud Pimps, and Bawds to their Patrons Lust: and so by this means here is erected, as it were, a Seminary of most Idle and Vile persons; who after they have once gotten themselves Wives, do then by their crafty Wiles oppress poor men, and begin to spread abroad the Poyson of their Wickednesse far and near. And for this reason it was, that Bishops have oftentimes forbidden those Prelats that have been under their Jurisdiction, the use of a Numerous Retinue; though here, there was no great need of any such Interdiction. For although that such

Servants

Servants of Prelates are not in truth Honest, and Good men; yet are they forced at least to appear such in those places; and so they give the lesse Scandal to the World. Wherefore the King ought to endeavour to introduce an Equality by restraining all Numerous Retinues.

Let Him moreover indulge the Common People so much, as that for the space of whole ten years, they shall pay onely the one half of their Taxes; and for the other half, let Him exact the payment of it at the hands of the Barons, and others that are *Artificers*. I would also have those Lawes, and Arts, spoken of before, where I treated of the Barons, and Usurers, to be brought into use.

But for as much as the Spaniards are hated by all Nations, the best Course would be, that the King should endeavour to reconcile them to the Spaniard by intermarrying with them; and also by erecting such *Military Seminaries*, into which should be admitted indifferently, and be there maintained, Souldiers of all other Nations. For by this means the King shall have both a more Copious, and also a better Tempered, and more Generous Army: as we see *Chestnut Graffes*, when they are set upon other stocks, bring forth the better fruit.

And this very course God himself is wont to take; who, that He may render all Mankind the more Noble, uses to transplant the People of the Northern Parts, and to remove them into the more Southern: which He also does for some other causes; which yet are all, save one or two, unknown to us. After this let the King of Spain so order his affairs, as that not only his subjects may live together in mutual love amongst themselves, but also that He himself may be beloved by them: which thing he may easily effect, by Enacting Profitable Lawes, by encreasing the number of his subjects, by remitting their Taxes and Impositions; by bringing in an Equality amongst them; and lastly, by not omitting even those things also, of which We spoke before.

And because that nothing is so destructive to a Prince, as the stirring up of the subjects Hate against Himself: whence it is, for the most part, that Conspiracies, and Treasons are plotted against both Prince, and State; it would be very well, if all the subjects were of the same Religion that the Prince is of: for nothing in the World doth more set men at Variance, then Diver-

sity of Religion. And this, the King of *France* hath found to be true, by his own sad Experience. But it is here necessary, that the Prince should shun those two Extreame, to wit, *Hypocrisie*, and *Superstition*. God is Truth, and will be worshipped in Truth, and with a Clear, upright mind.

Let our Prince therefore be sure, that he approve himself to be a Pious, and Religious Prince, without *Hypocrisie*, (by which *Tiberius Caesar* did himself much wrong,) and without any apparent softnesse, or Effeminate nesse. But nothing more commends a Prince to his People, then to be furnished both with Domestick, and Military Vertues; which are sufficient to engage all his subjects, of all Ranks and Conditions whatsoever, to be faithful to Him: for, these are the Foundation, and Groundwork of all Principalities. For as the Elements, and all Bodies compounded of them, do without any Reluctancy obey the Motions of the Celestial Bodies, by reason of their Ingenit Excellencie of Nature; and in the Revolutions of the Celestial Orbes themselves, the Inferiour follow the Motion of the Superiour; in like manner do all men willingly submit, and yeeld themselves up to such a Prince, in whom they find all Eminent Vertues shining forth. For, this is an Impression of Nature, imprinted on all, that no Inferiours refuse to yeeld Obedience to those that are above, or better then themselves. For it is received by the Eternal Law of Nature, that Inferiours should obey their Superiours: And it is the Bond of Faith, (saith *Livy*) to obey our betters. And, Our Superiours Commands are to be obeyed; saith another Author. And *Aristotle* sayes, that Natural Reason requires, that those that do excel in Wit, and Judgment, should govern those that are not so excellent therein.

When any Prince therefore is Eminent for Vertue, it gains Him the Love of his People: especially, if he shall but make it appear to them, that He loves them with a Fatherly Love, admitting them to come into his presence, and to discourse with Him, and withall looking into the Accounts of His Inferiour Ministers; and alwayes more readily lending an ear to the Poor, then to the Rich: and besides, if He pardon all Offenders, and bestow all Rewards Himself, but inflict punishments on Malefactors, by his Ministers: and also, if He suppress Usurers, and those Mercenary Barons, spoken of before; and shew Him-
self

self clear from all Wicked Acts whatsoever: and withall render Himself worthy to be revered for his Religion, by having Godly Counsellors about Him, and winning to himself a holy love from all, by reason of the most strict Tye that is between Him and the Pope, and the Holy Church. And let Him in all things Propose for Examples for Him to follow, *David, Constantine, Theodosius, Trajan, Augustus, Martiansus, Charles the Great*: all which being endowed with the forementioned Vertues, and with Sciences, reigned more happily, then *Julian, Frederick, Henry, Tiberius, Nero, and Philip* Surnamed the *Faire*, who spent his time in a quite contrary course to what *Charles the Great* did.

Besides, I would have Him to invite his Subjects, by honours and Rewards, to an Emulation of *Vertues*, and *Sciences*, and an Endeavour to excel each other herein: by which means there would be *New Sciences* invented. Gaming also would be of good use in Spain, and would serve to divert the Common People from prying over-curiously into Affairs of State: or else it would necessitate those, that have lost all their Estates that way, to turn Souldiers. But yet, seeing that this breaking of one another is the cause of Extortion, Covetousnesse, Hatred of their fellow Subjects, and of the love of Mony; this *Gaming* seems in the end to bring more damage to the State, then benefit. And therefore I conceive it were better that there were some Sports of Recreation devised for his Subjects of Spain to try Masteries in; and some Velitations, and Innocent Contentions in some Arts, or Sciences: but for his Forraign subjects abroad they should use *Gaming*, either at Cards, or Dice; which they should be put upon by the Leiger Ambassadors there: that so by this means they may become Broken, and Heartlesse, through Idlenesse, and want of Exercise. I would also have some Mathematical, Philosophical, and Politicall Questions proposed among them, that they may so be diverted from embracing Heretical Opinions.

But the best course the King can take, for the preventing of all Conspiracies, and designs against Him, will be, to shew Himself a *Good, Awful, and Just* Prince.

The want of the First of these Vertues was the Ruin of *Nero*, and *Acciolinus*; the Defect in the second, undid *Sardanapalus*, and *Vitellius*; and the failing in the last cost *Philip*, King

of *Macedonia*, his life : who because he had denied the due Course of Justice to one *Pausanias*, was by him killed. Inequality also and Injustice was the Cause of the Ruin of *Rome* it self.

If any one Single person have any Treacherous Design against the Prince, the only Course in that case for prevention of it, will be, to take notice of, and search every one that comes into the Kings presence, least they should carry any Armes Privily about them ; for it is a difficult businesse to prevent such Treacheries, as are designed by One single Person alone. And hence it was, that *Henry* the III. of *France*, and the King of *Morb*, and so likewise *Philip*, King of *Macedonia*, were all Slain by single persons ; the First of them, for his Religion ; the second, for his Cruelty ; and the Third, for his denying Justice to be done to a Subject of his. But if there be Many joyned together in any Conspiracy against the Prince, it cannot be, but that unlesse they effect their design within fifteen, or twenty daies space ; or, except the Conspirators have fallen upon their Design out of their Love, and respect they bear to Justice, Piety, or the benefit of the Publick, and so it prove to be onely a Conspiracy contrived by Honest Men against a Tyrant ; it cannot otherwise be, I say, but that they must necessarily be discovered ; For, every body will hope, some way or other to advance himself by the Prince's Favour, if he do but discover the said Conspiracy to him. And hence it was, that the Conspiracy of *Absolon* against his father *David*, and of *Catiline* against his Country were detected ; because that those, that were the Conspirators, were nothing at all better, or honest men, then those against whom they had conspired. Conspiracies are also easily, and speedily too, discovered by servants ; unlesse they be presently put into Execution ; as was that of *Laurence de Medicis* against Duke *Alexander*, which was deferred but one night onely. And whensoever Honest Men joyn in any Conspiracy against a most Cruel Tyrant ; notwithstanding they should delay the putting of the same in execution, yet would there be no great danger of its being discovered ; and hence it was, that the Conspiracy of *John de Procitha*, and the Barons of *Sicily*, against the *French*, and *Charles* of *Anjou*, who miserably afflicted the poor Inhabitants, was kept close above a year before.

fore the Execution of it : and that too, though both the *Emperour*, the *Pope*, and *Peter*, King of *Aragon*, who were Forraign-ers, were all privy to the Same : the only Reason of which was, because that This was a Conspiracy made by the Nobles and others, that were therein concerned, against Forraigners, and Tyrannical Governours. The like was that Conspiracy also, which was entred into by *Jehoiada* and the *Levites* against *Athaliah*. And yet, for the most part, although the number of those that are in the Conspiracy be but of a few, and it be besides contrived against some Wicked person too ; yet if it be not speedily put in Execution, it comes to light, and is discovered : as we may see by that Conspiracy made against *Nero* ; in which even *Seneca* himself also was ; and that Other contrived against *Cosmo de Medicis* by the Wicked *Strozzi*, who were themselves much worse then He.

But in case any single person, aspiring to some Principality, shall yet bear his followers in hand, that He drives at some other thing, and so in the mean time winnes upon them, and gains their Affections ; He shall certainly bring about his designs.

This was the course that *Julius Caesar* took, in attaining to the Empire ; though He kept his Design close to Himself, and never discovered it to any ; being yet wont, while He was but a Youth, to have this saying often in his mouth : *Si violandum est jus, Regnandi gratiâ violandum est* : If I would violate the Lawes, it should be, to Rule.

And of this Design of his, he laid for himself Two Foundations ; namely, *Religion*, and The *Love of the Souldiery* ; to whom at length He made known his purpose, though under another Pretext. Whereas *Catiline* in his attempting the same, took a quite Contrary Course ; and having laid down to himself before hand no one particular Foundation, He, without any more ado, at first made all of his fellow Conspirators acquainted with his drift, and purpose. By whose Miscarriage *Caesar* taking warning, He attempts the same thing, but with more Caution, and Advisednesse.

The King therefore ought to use all diligence and care, to discover how the Minds of His Subjects, and Ministers stand affected :

fected toward Him, and what they have in agitation amongst them: and when He hath once found what they would have, He shall do well, immediately to give them Satisfaction in that Particular. And besides, it would not be amisse, that He should bestow some gifts, under hand, yet without any shew at all of fear, or suspition, upon some one Principal person amongst the Conspirators; who, being by this meanes wrought over to the Prince, will be able to acquaint Him with what ever Designs his Subjects have in hand. And if any shall inform Him, that there are certain Persons, that have for many months together been openly contriving some conspiracy against Him; He may very well laugh at such Informers. For, whosoever shall go about to attempt any such thing in that manner, are either Fooles, or very Unskilful in the Course of the World; or else, lastly, those that gave him such Information, are Liers, and forged those Stories, only to ingratiate themselves with the Prince, and get into Favour with him. Thus heretofore *Perseus* falsely accused his Brother *Demetrius*, of having Secretly conspired against their Father, *Philip*, King of *Macedonia*. And in the Reigne of *Tiberius*, and afterwards of *Nero*, there were every day some or other, that accused others of Treasonable Designs against the Emperour; Which certainly is a very Villanous, base thing; for by this meanes the Prince is both made to suspect every body; and besides, He renders Himself withal suspected by every body; so that the Subjects are put to act really upon Him that which Himself stands in fear of; or else, Innocent men are unjustly put to death; both which things are of very ill Consequence to a Kingdom. He ought rather therefore to seem not to believe any such Accusations, although perhaps they should be true, unlesse they be also manifestly proved; except they be such, as wherein Religion is concerned. For, by so doing, He will shew himself to be a just, and Good Prince, and such a one, as doth the least in the World deserve to have any such Conspiracies contrived against him; and so also the Conspirators themselves will presently lay aside the Ill Opinion they had conceived of Him. In the mean time, for the Prince to cause any of his Subjects to be thought guilty of Rebellion, and Treason, when no such thing can be proved against them, is but a very sad businesse; for then, out of the sense of the Infamy that is cast upon them, they will be forced to desire a Change of Government,

vernment, and will invite the Kings Enemies to invade him; which hath often happened both in the *Low-Countries*, and in *France*.

And notwithstanding that there seems to be some hope of gain issuing from thence; because an Occasion may hereupon be taken of keeping a stricter hand over the Subject; (which advantage being readily apprehended by the forementioned *Cosmo de Medicis*, he took an Occasion presently to break off the Articles of Peace that had been concluded upon betwixt him and the *Florentines*; in like manner as our King also, upon the like Occasion held a harder hand over the *Arragonians*, upon Pretense that they had entred into Conspiracy against Him with *Antonio Perez*;) yet, in truth, the King receives more damage, then Advantage thereby. And therefore the more sure, and certain way, to confirm and assure his Kingdom to himself, would be, so to winne over the People to him by Mutual Love, and favours bestowed upon them, that they should not have any ground to have any such Suspensions of him. And besides, where this note of Infamy is thrown upon the Subjects; not only themselves, but their Children also will be sure to preserve the memory of it, and so will watch for some fit opportunity of Revenge; which when it offers it self, they will not stick openly to joyn with Forreigners against him; and thus their Treasonable Designs are not by those meanes quite quashed, but are deferred only. And hence it was, that *Nero's* hoping to get money out of the People, about the First Conspiracy against himself, and so by punishing them, to benefit himself, did not at all suppress the said Conspiracy, but only put it off, till some other time: which also the Senatours afterwards set on foot again, but with greater care, and circumspection: as it likewise happened to *Tiberius*, and other wicked Princes.

If any such thing therefore should befall our Prince, He should endeavour to obliterate, and blot out the memory of such Rebellions, by Benefits, rather then Punishments; by that means both putting a bridle into their mouthes, and yet withall sweetning them, and winning them over to Himself by his bounty; so much more advantagious is it for a Prince, at all times, and in all places, to approve Himself rather *Good*, then *Cunning*.

But

But yet it cannot be denied, but that such Conspiracies are most dangerous, which are countenanced by the Pretext of Introducing a *New Religion*; or, when any *Seditious Preacher* takes liberty to cast Reproaches upon the State. And therefore I shall say something, in my following discourse, touching *Preachers*, both *Good*, and *Bad*; and afterwards also of the *Uniting*, and *Division*, or falling off of Kingdomes, and Countries from one another.

I would also have Severer Punishments, and more exemplary peeces of Justice then usual, (if it may be) to be at once, and speedily inflicted upon all Conspirators; least, by often repeating of lighter Punishments upon them, their Hate be thereby the more encreased, and shew it self upon all Occasions. But again, if any such, having made their escapes, shall yet, after some space of time, begin to be humbled, and repent of their Wickednesse; I would not that all hope of Pardon, and Reconciliation should be cut off from them. As for the Preventing of the Barons rising against the King, the courses before laid down may be taken.

No *Heresies* can spread, or get any footing any where, but by the Clergy; as I have demonstrated elsewhere.

The King's Deputies, or Viceroyes ought to have no command over any Castles, or Frontier Townes that have Garrisons in them: but all such places are to be committed to the trust of some Particular Commanders residing in the same, and who are Experienced Souldiers, and betwixt whom and the Viceroyes there is no great correspondence. And let these be chosen out of the Barons of the Kingdome; that so their Baronies, or Lordships may be as Pledges for their Fidelity to the King. And to this end, I would have *Spaniards* to be sent into *Italy*, and contrariwise, *Italians* to be sent into *Spain*, to take upon them these Charges.

CHAP. XVIII.

of Preachers, and Prophecies.



It is certain, that the People, especially of a certain number of Kingdomes, are of more power, then the King himself, with all his Friends and Souldiers: I mean, in the Christian World; for in *Turky*, whether it be so or no, is as yet something a doubtful businesse. It is therefore necessary to produce here some reasons, why the People do not, upon every light Occasion rise up against the King, and shake the Yoak from off their neck: and these are, because that being so scattered, and at such a distance from one another, they cannot so well joyn in a body, and stick together; or else, because they are worthlesse, dull-headed fellows, and have none to head them in a Rebellion, in whom they may repose their confidence and hope. Now it is manifest again on the other side, that the Causes of the Publick peace and quietnesse, do derive their Original from the Wisedome of the Preachers, and others of the Clergy, to whom the people give an ear; and that so much the rather, because These promise unto them Eternal Blessings, which, if they do but despise their Temporal, they may attain unto: perswading them withal, that it is agreeable to the Will of God, that Obedience should be yeilded to the King; and, that by suffering Afflictions, they shall be rewarded by God himself; withal often inculcating into their minds Humility, and other the like Vertues; but grievously threatning all Theeves, Murderers, Whoremongers, and Seditious persons, declaring what Punishments, both from Men, and God himself, continually hang over their heads: on the contrary, comforting, and encouraging the Good, and promising them all manner of Happinesse. And so by this meanes, the words of these men being greedily hearkned unto by their Auditors, overcome, and captivate their Minds and Affections: and then again, all Wicked, Irreligious persons are cast out of doors, with their Perfidious designs; being unable to infect any, either Magistrate, or Souldier, with their corrupt, malicious Perswasions, or by any means to incite them to a Rebellion.

The First Instrument therefore of Raigning well, and quietly, is the *Tongue*; and the Second is, the *Sword*: And the truth of this will best of all appear, by the contrary Use of It. For, whensoever any Seditious Preachers rise up against the King, they are able in a short time to bring the people, that before dissented in Judgments, to be now of one and the same mind, and will adde courage to every Seditious spirit, and so will make themselves the Heads, and Ringleaders of sedition; by which Princes have oftentimes been brought into very great Straits; and, which is more, have sometimes also lost their Lives thereby. An example of this kind may be *Mahomet*, who stirred up the People against *Heraclius* the Emperour. The like whereof hath of late years been practised by *Luther*, and *Calvin*, against an Infinite number of Princes: and these two have done more mischief with their *Tongue*, then either *Marcus Sciarra*, or *Ninus Martinus* did with their Swords.

Thus again, on the contrary, *Menenius Agrippa*, with his *Tongue* only suppressed the Mutinying Commons of *Rome*, and made them again to yield Obedience to the Senat, against whom they had shamefully risen up. The Pope also hath often by his Preachers repressed Rebellions that were now broken out, and grown high: Nay, He by this means preserved, and upheld the Western Empire, when by the Rhetorick of his Divine *Tongue*, he diverted *Attila*, the *Hunne* from destroying all *Italy*, and made him return home again. King *Ahab* also was brought to destruction by the *Tongue* of the Prophet *Elijah*; as *Jeroboam* was by *Abijah's*. And therefore Good Preachers ought to be had in high estimation, especially if they be Good Men, and are able to confirm that which they say, both by Miracles, and by strong Reasons: like as *Moses* confounded *Pharaoh*; and the Pope, the Emperours *Frederick* and *Henry*; and as the Emperour *Constantine* performed that, which He had conceived by Divine Inspiration.

It is certain therefore, that Tumults, and Mutinies may be stirred up among the People, by the Eloquence of such persons, as are Powerful with them, and in high esteem among them: and therefore such are to be had in reverence, whether they be Good men, or Bad; and they are to be made your friends. For, if they be Good men, they are then so powerful by their Divine Authority, as that there can be no Opposition made against them.

them. Look upon *Samuel*, who set *Saul* upon the Throne; and shortly after deposed Him again, and set up *David* upon it. And so likewise, what is it, that the *Pope* is not able to do, in this kind? For as much as His Supream Authority, joyned with Sermons, is of much greater force and power. And Bishops, in this case, would also be very powerful, if they would but take upon themselves to discharge the duty of Preachers. How stoutly did St. *Chrysostome* oppose the rage and fury of the Empresse *Eudoxia*, and her Party! And St. *Bernard* also made himself very formidable both to the Cardinals, and to the Popes themselves, setting at oddes, and reconciling Princes and their People, as he pleased himself: as his *Epistles* do sufficiently testifie. And I am verily perswaded, that if all Princes and Nations should joyn their Forces together, for the Overthrowing of the *Popedome*, they would not be able to effect it: for thus much Christ hath also promised to his Church; *Whatsoever ye bind on earth, shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever ye loose on earth, &c.* And again, *The Gates of Hell shall not prevail against It.* And if there were but one Expedition onely of *Crossades* appointed to be set forth, all persons that are of any Religious Orders whatsoever, (and of these there are certainly many Millions,) would questionlesse immediatly flock together with their Armes; and making use both of their Tongues, and Swords, would be able to make resistance against, and to strike a terrour into the Whole World. For indeed all people would be afraid to make use of their Armes against persons that are in Sacred Orders: and yet if some few of them should dare to do this, yet would the Major part of them lay down Their Armes; and so the rest, being by this means disheartned, would not make any Opposition against them.

Do but take notice, if you please, how *Moses* alone, being accompanied onely with the Levites and Priests, yet took up armes against the Rebellious People of *Israel*, and against their Princes, who, together with their Wives, were above a Million in number; and how with the Armes of one single Tribe onely, and that too of the Priests, he killed *twenty three Thousand* men in one day, and reduced the rest into Obedience. For, where the True Religion joyneth Armes and Preaching together, there is no Power so great, as to be able to make resistance against it. The *Romans*, so soon as ever they perceived the Power of the

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New growing Christian Religion, they presently took up Armes against It, killing and imprisoning the Christians every where; yet were they fain at last to give way to It: until at length Themselves also, in the time of the Emperour *Constantine* the Great, embraced the Christian Faith. And although that a Bishop, or the *Pope* himself should chance to be a Wicked person; yet if any Prince shall draw his Sword against him, he shall be overcome, though the Conquerour: Of which we had a plain example in *Roger Guiscard*, King of *Naples*; who though he got the Victory in the Battel, yet was he afterwards compelled to kisse the *Popes* Foot. A Remedy against which some Kings conceiving they had found out, (among which number was *Henry* the VIII. King of *England*) they betook themselves to Apostasy; and yet neverthelesse did They also come to Ruin: and this very thing would bring, if it should be attempted, the most certain destruction upon *Spain* also; as we have formerly shewed.

Some others have thought it the best course to cast the *Popes* into Prison; which *Philip* K. of France made bold to practise upon Pope *Boniface* the Eighth: and in like manner *St. Chrysostome* was heretofore sent into banishment by The Emperour *Arcadius*; which yet was destructive to both these Princes. For, *Chrysostome* was called home again, and restored to his Seat with greater honour, by occasion of *Gaina* the Goth his taking up Armes against the said Emperour: notwithstanding that *Gaina* himself could not be preserved in the Church, because he was an Opposer of that Religion that *Chrysostome* was of. And the King of France, after he had by *Boniface's* means brought it so about, that a Frenchman was chosen Pope, hoping by this meanes His Offence would escape unpunished, he fomented and kept up the Breach, that at that time was risen in the Church, and sent *Clement* V. the new Elected Pope, to *Avignon*, to keep his residence there; but all to no purpose: For this very Pope *Clement*, by the advice of Cardinal *Brasens*, deceived his Kings expectation, in not keeping those Promises that he had made to him. And indeed, from that time forward, the Kingdome of France seems to have been continually in declining; as appears plainly out of History. It is therefore a Profane Remedy, to lay hands upon, or to attempt any thing against the person of a Priest.

Other Princes again have elected *Anti-popes* ; as did the Duke of *Bavaria* ; by which meanes they were afflicted worse then before. Others have summoned such Bishops and Popes as have been obstinate, perverse Persons, and enemies to them, to appear before a General Council : but this devise of theirs the Pope hath now eluded ; it being openly declared to all the World, that a Generall Council hath no power at all over the Pope ; and a Decree being also made, That No Council shall be called, but by the Pope alone. And for this reason did Pope *Leo X.* ruine those Cardinals that were present at the Council of *Pisa* ; and yet neither did their friends, the Princes, obtain what they desired.

Ecclesiastical Princes have alwaies been wiser then Secular ; some of whom have found a remedy for this Evil, by yeilding, and submitting themselves ; as *Theodosius* the Emperour humbled himself before that Good Bishop, St *Ambrose* ; and the Kings of the *Goths* left *Rome*, and went to *Ravenna* to reside ; giving way to the Popes, as well to the Bad, as the Good. And That King of *England* also, by whose command *Thomas Becket*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was murdered, made choyce rather to enter into Conditions of Peace with the Pope, then to lose his Kingdom ; and so was forced to pay yearly to the Pope forty Thousand Marks of Gold ; and besides, at his death, he made the Pope his heir to the Kingdom by his last Will and Testament. After the Example of these Princes, it will behooe the King of Spain also to give way to the Pope, whether He be Good, or Bad ; and to lay aside what Controversies soever he shall have with him, and to leave such Bishops as are his enemies, to be chastised by the Pope, to whom He must wholly unite himself by those waies which are before set down. *Alexander*, the King of the *Jewes*, having drawn upon himself the hatred of the *Pharises*, and being now upon his death bed, perswaded his wife (as *Josephus* testifies) that by all meanes she should take him, and throw him down headlong out at the Window ; telling her, that by so doing she should give full satisfaction to the Incensed *Pharises*, who, after she had done that Act, would suffer her to succeed him in the Kingdom ; giving her Counsel besides, that she should ever take heed how she fell out with any *Religious* persons, least she suffered that which himself had done.

But :

But if such men as are Authorised by no Superiour Power, (especially if they be Clergy men, such as were *Arrins*, *Savanasola*, and *Luther*,) shall rise up against any State, this is a very dangerous case: and it must then be enquired into, whether these men have any encouragement from the Pope to do so, or not: for, if so be they have, and He contradicts them not, then is the Evill in a manner Incurable; but if they have not Him for their Abettor, then may an order be very easily taken with them. For here it is necessary that it be considered, whether these Men be *Good* or *Bad*; (for both may prove very dangerous) and if they are *Bad*, they must then be rooted out by the Authority of the Pope; but if they are *Good* men, they must then be cited to appear before a *General Councel*; where, by the Authority of the Pope being also interposed, they may be openly convinced; in like manner as *Berengarius*, being convinced of his Errour, yeilded to the Truth, and submitted; and this is the Course that ought to be taken, where the Parties are sincerely, and really *Good* men, and not meer Hypocrites onely. But if they maintain a Good Cause, those Faults, which they did inveigh against in their Sermons, are to be mended; and they themselves are to be sent for away to *Rome*, where they should afterwards spend the rest of their Lives; as was done by *Bartholomeus Miranda*, Archbishop of *Toledo*, and the Bishop of *Curzola*, who was expelled from his Bishoprick by the *Venetians*. If they are Lay-men, as was *John of Leyden*, and *Philip Melancthon*, there is no great danger to be feared from them; For, these two, after the breach had been first made by *Luther*, at length rose up; and when now *Luther* had already settled his Erroneous Religion, and false Priesthood in *Germany*. But in our Dominions, no One Lay-man whatsoever would be able to bring about such a businesse, without the assistance of some one of the Clergy.

It is an Infallible Rule, that no Heresie did ever do any hurt in a Country, unlesse the Prince himself of that Country, for some Reasons of State, afforded some Patronage to the same: as I have shewed where I discoursed touching the *Papal Monarchy*. It will therefore concern all Princes to take care, that their Nobles also be not infected with the said Heresie; which they may prevent, by taking them off with Employments, and so diverting their Minds from any such thoughts; as I have delivered before.

Now

Now these Rules are to be diligently observed, with these aforesaid Hereticks. You must be careful that you do not fall to dispute with them about Minute Quirks, and subtilties in Divinity; but only that you require them to give you a good account of their *Calling*; and to produce the Names of their Authors; after this manner, suppose. *Who commanded you to teach these things publickly? Were they Men, or Devils rather? For we cannot believe, they should be any other.* And then, if they shall answer, that *They have their Calling from God*; let them then make the same appear to you, by doing some *Miracles* or other; such as God heretofore armed His Messengers with, namely *Moses, Elijah, and the Apostles*. And if they are not able to do any such things, you should then bring them to the Stake, and burn them, if you can, and render them as Infamous as possibly you may. But be sure you avoid all *Grammatical Disputations*, and *Logical Subtilties*; but dispute with them only according to the Principles of *Divine Logick*; as *St. Francis* did in *Egypt*, and *St. John Gualbert*; and as I my self have endeavoured to do, in my *Dialogues* against the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*; laying down a way, how they are to be convinced by an Apostolical, and Political way; least out of multiplying idle, and vain words, one Controversie may still be started out of another; which to perverse, and Malicious spirits will be taken for a kind of Victory. I would also have them condemned to be Burnt out of the *Imperial Constitutions*; for as much as they rob Persons in Authority of their Goods, and Good name, (such as are the Pope, and other Religious, and Pious men, who have confirmed the Faith of the Church, and sealed it with their Blood;) which indeed is more precious then what ever other Treasures in the World: and therefore whosoever they are, that are Refractory to, and perversly oppose such Persons, and seduce others to do the like, they justly deserve to be punished.

A second Rule is, that all care be taken, that there be no fruits suffered to spring from such branches: for the hindering whereof, the best course would be, to prefer only men of excellent parts to Bishopricks and Benefices; and withal you are to consider that such, if they be good Men, will be of good use to you, nor will ever scatter abroad any Pestilential Opinions: such as were *Cato*, and *Socrates* among the *Gentiles*; and *St. Bernard*, and *Thomas Aquinas* among the *Christians*. There are
also.

also other Good men to be found, that are able to act powerfully on either part; such as were among the Heathen, *Alciades*, and *Coriolanus*, both which were the Authors of much good, and as much evil to their Countries, according as they were led by the Occasion, and present necessity upon them: as, among the Christians, were *Luther*, and *Sergius*; who afterwards recanted, as it were, all that ever they had before Rightly Preached and taught.

And therefore it concerns the Prince, that he shew himself Favourable, and Gracious to all Learned Men; seeing that he cannot be able to see so far into them, as to know what their Inclinations are. And let him use all the means he can, to know who are the most excellent for Learning in his Dominions; and having notice of them, let Him invite them to him, and find Employments for them; preventing even the Pope himself in bestowing perferments on them: and these he shall encourage, and provoke to shew their abilities against the Infidels. One only Monk converted all *England* to the *Christian* Faith: and *Charles* the Great, that extraordinary favourer, and Patron of all that were Eminent for Learning, and Eloquence, whether they were Laicks, or Clergy-men; subdued *Gotland*, *Norway*, and *Denmark*, with a great part of *Germany* also, by the means of these Men; whom also He rewarded most magnificently. In the Conquest also of the *New World*, the Monks were of more use, and did more good, then the Soldiers.

And the like might also be effected both in *China*, *Ethiopia*, and *Persia*. Wherefore New Sciences are to be introduced, and New *Sects* of *Philosophers*, together with the *Mathematicks*; as likewise the study of the *Arabick* Tongue is to be taken up, (seeing that the Empires of the *Greeks*, and of the *Hebrews* are now quite extinct) that so, by the use thereof, the *Turks* may be the better convinced of their Errour.

Let there be also certain Assemblies erected, consisting of the wisest persons that can be pickt out both of the Religious Order of the Friars, and out of the Laity; whose business it shall be, to deliberate about such things as concern the State: that so their Wits being wholly taken up with the meditating about these things, they may wholly serve the Prince; and him only, and not design any thing to his disadvantage; while their

their own only Ambitions will be, who shall deserve best of the Prince; and so will have no other thoughts: And let him make it his businesse, to get together as many of these men as he can; and withal let him be sure, that they be all honest, good men. For, should there be never so many of them, yet if they were such as those were that *Jezebel* had about her; one *Elijah*, because he is a Good man, would easily confound them all, and bring them to nothing.

Antiochus also erected Greek Schooles at *Jerusalem*, to the end that, by that means, he might abolish the Wholsome Doctrine and Lawes that *Moses* had given the Jewes; but all in vain; because the *Macchabees* opposed themselves against him. In like manner ought the King to set up many Christian Catholick Schooles, and that, against the Enemies of Religion: for, by so doing, he shall render Himself secure, both from the Pope, and from his Enemies; and shall besides reduce the Netherlands, and bring them under his subjection; as I have before declared.

Neither would I have this one thing to be omitted; namely, that He erect certain Colledges through all the Provinces of his Dominions, in which should be placed all the most Ingenious Boyes of the said Provinces; (and who are such, may easily be known, by their first Masters, that taught them their Grammers, and other the First Rudiments) and these, being thus culled out of all Grammer Schools, I would have to be brought up, and maintained at the Kings Charge; and there should be a *New Order* set up of them, like that of *St. Dominick*; which Order I would have called, *The Austrian Order*. And when any of these were come to be 18. years old, they should then be commanded to Preach: and these I would have to be called, *The Kings Preachers*; and they should then be sent abroad, some into *Germany*, and others into *England*: where, if they have managed their businesses rightly, and well; at their return they should have Bishopricks conferred upon them by the King, of those that are in the Kings own gift: for, by so doing, he shall render himself secure both from the Pope, and also against all perfidious Preachers and Hereticks; and by this meanes such persons only shall be maintained at His charge, as do him service for it, and advance His affairs.

Neither can it be expressed by words, what great advantages

He shall reap to himself hereby. For, among all sorts of Hereticks that are, there are none that are farther out of the way of Truth, then the *Calvinists* are, who sow abroad the Seeds of Sedition wheresoever they come, and endeavour to break asunder the bonds of that Peace, which was made known unto the world by Angels, and publickly preached by Christ himself: and, who having neither any respect to Learning, nor regarding the Authority of the Fathers, do defend their own Sect by their Armes only, as the *Turks* do.

There is need therefore here of the most Effectual Medicines that can be, against this Evil, these kind of Men; and that is, *Principiis ob stare*, To stop them in their Beginning: which course is to be observed in the Prevention of all Evils whatsoever: and then afterwards are those other Remedies to be applied, which are before set down; namely, for the converting of them: for which work there must be chosen out honest, and painful Labourers, who by the Purity of their Doctrine, and holinesse of their Life, may reduce and winne back such wandring sheep, as have gone astray out of the Way of Truth.

The Kings of *Portugal*, and especially *John* the Third, erected in *India* certain Colledges and *Seminaries*, wherein are educated a great number of young Youths of all sorts, under the Discipline of the *Jesuits*; who also have by this meanes done very much good both in *Germany*, and in the *New World*. For, those Cities of *Germany*, in which these *Jesuits* live, have alwaies stood firm in the Faith; and those other, which have been infected with the Venom of Heresie, are cured thereof by their Means. But if there be no hopes at all left of reducing these men, and bringing them back again into the True Way, and making them to submit themselves to our Government and Doctrine; then must the King embrace that counsel which was given by *Terentius Varro* to *Hofilius*, for the keeping of the *Tuscan*s within the bounds of their Duty and Obedience; namely, let him so order the matter, as that they should not be able to shake off the yoke, if they would never so fain. And this may be done, by observing these three things; namely, by bringing them to be *Low-spirited*, *Weak*, and, lastly, if they be *Kept asunder from one another*: for, the Boldnesse that any take upon them,

them, in attempting to cast off the Yoak from their Necks, proceeds either from their Height of *Spirit*, or from their *Strength*, or else from their *Multitude*.

But before these severer Courses are taken with them, it cannot be expressed, how mightily advantageous it would be to the business in hand, if so be the Children of Infidels were put to such Masters as should instruct them in the Arts, and Liberal Sciences, and all such exercises as are fit for any Ingenuous Man to be brought up in: for, by this course alone, we should at once oblige both the Children, and the Parents also to Us. We must therefore erect, as I said before, *Seminaries* both for the *Tongues*, and *Armes*, which we call the *Two Instruments* of our *Future Monarchy*: the Former of these, for the reducing of all such of our Subjects, as are Infidels, and Hereticks, and the bringing them back in a peaceable manner into the True Way, and to a Unity of Faith: and the Later, to the end that they may be utterly weakned, and deprived of all power, in case they shall stand out, and refuse to return to the True Faith; of which we have formerly spoken elsewhere.

CHAP. XIX.

Of such Kingdomes as are Properly belonging to the King of Spain: and of such also, as are his Enemies; and of these, which are in League with each other, and which not.



Some are of Opinion, that it is Impossible, that the Kingdom of *Spain* should stand long, as well because almost All Other Nations are either Enemies to it, or at least, not very good Friends; as also, by reason of the remoteness of the several parts of it from each other, some lying in the *New World*, and others lying scatteringly here and there like Islands, as in *Italy*, the *Low-Countries*, and in *Africk*; all which are most different from one another, both in their Languages, Situation, and Temper of the Climate: whereas on the contrary,

trary, the *Turk*, who layes claime to the Universal Empire of the whole World, hath his Dominions lying all close together; and besides, in his Wars, he observes the same Course that the *Romans* heretofore did, in making War alwayes upon his Neighbours only, that lye round about him. Neither can the Enmity, or hatred of those Nations that are his Enemies, do him any hurt at all; for as much as he brings up within his own Dominions Young Children of all sorts, of which afterwards he maketh Souldiers: so that his Empire seems in a manner to be nothing else, but a Military Republick. Neither can Religion at all hinder his proceedings; and besides, his Bashawes, or Governours of Provinces, have all of them an absolute power of Rule given them; so that they need not stand in fear of poor naked, and unarmed People: whom, if they should but offer to rise, they would be able to suppress by their own Sons.

Whosoever desires to become a great Monarch, it will be-hoove him to be continually in making War upon all his Neighbours that lye round about him; and to reduce them under his subjection as soon as possibly he can. For thus the *Romans* heretofore did, first of all setting upon the *Sabines*, and *Latines*: and then afterwards falling upon the *Aequicola*, the *Peligni*, the *Vei-entes*, *Lucanians*, *Tuscans*, and *Samnites*; alwayes going round in a Circle, till at length, having subdued all *Italy*, they passed over into *Sardinia*, *Sicily*, *Spain*, *Gaule*, and *Germany*. The self same Course was taken by the *Babylonians*, in their expeditions against those of *Asia*, and the *Persians*. The *Macedonians* did the like, making War upon the *Thebans* first; then falling upon the *Epirotes*, *Lacedemonians*, *Achaians* and *Ætolians*; and afterwards, passing over into *Asia*, they filled it wholly with their Armies. in so much that at length, as *Livy*, and *Plutarch* write, they were so puffed up with the glory of their Victories, as that they would have marcht on against the *Romans*, and *Carthagineans* also. Certainly, had not *Alexander* the Great been taken off by an untimely death, he would without all doubt have made an Expedition against the *Romans* also.

I say therefore, that the *Turk* does at this day take the very same course, that the Greatest Empires in former times did. For, having first subdued all *Asia Minor*, he then passed over into *Europe*, and conquered all *Greece*: next, he falls upon *Syria*,
Egypt,

Egypt, and *Armenia*; till at length he came as far as *Macedonia*, *Epirus*, and *Hungary*. Where, after he had taken in some certain Christian provinces, and added them to his Empire; and that the Christians now out of a General fear of being swallowed up by him, betook themselves all to their Armes, and joyned their whole strengths together against him; He then very craftily, and subtly makes a Truce with them, and agrees upon conditions of Peace.

These things passing on thus, the Christians in the mean while fall at variance among themselves, and make war upon each other; so that the *Turk* being now secure from any Molestation by them, turnes his Victorious Armes against the Kings of *Persia*, or *Georgia*: till such time that, finding the Christians all to peices again among themselves, he thinks fit then to strike up a Truce with the *Persian*, or those other of his enemies who-soever they were; and so falls on again upon the Christians with all the strength he hath, and does them what mischeif lies in his Power. And then, while They are fain to spend time in consulting what is to be done, the *Turk*, he goes on still Victoriously, taking in now one Place, and then another, without controule. So great, and of so dangerous and sad Consequence are those Intestine Dissensions, that are at this day kept up among the Christian Princes! But the King of Spain, at one and the same time maintaines a War with several Nations; neither hath he at any time all his whole forces joyned together in any one Battel; by which meanes He utterly destroyes himself. For, we shall have him making War in the most Remote Parts of the World, whiles yet in the mean time He hath all his Neighbours, that lye round about Him, his enemies; as the *English*, *French*, *Hollanders*, and perhaps even the *Italians* themselves also. Whence it may seem, that He takes a very crosse, and unlikely way, for the enlarging of his Dominions and Empire.

But, to this Objection I Answer, that though much of this is true, yet the Course that the *Turk* takes is so blunt, and plain, that if he should have but one overthrow, so that it were a lusty one indeed, it would prove his utter Ruin; (as I have hinted before.) since that He hath no Vice-Roys, or Barons, by whom he might be recruited, and made whole again. But we cannot say so of the King of Spain; who, in such a case, would presently be

be furnished with Aides from the Pope, and the Princes of *Italy*, and that by reason of their Union in point of Religion. I say moreover, that He cannot suffer any Notable Overthrow, unlesse it be by some very Potent Prince; such a One as the great *Turk* is; who yet lying so very far remote from him, (as *Alexander* the Great of old did from the *Romans*) cannot so quickly ruin him: whereas, on the Contrary, any Peaceable Agreement of the *Christians* among themselves, if so be it were but Firm and Lasting, would utterly confound the *Turk*. And therefore I say, that although King *Philips* Kingdomes lye scattered far and near, yet his enemies also lye far asunder one from another: and therefore it is clear, that his Emulators, the *Italians*, *Tuscans* and *Venetians*, will never enter into a Combination against him, unlesse he First give them some evident cause, and wrong them very much. Neither indeed will the Pope ever suffer any acts of Hostility to be done against His Catholick Majesty; and besides, it is also most certain, that the Catholick Princes, both out of fear of the Hereticks, and also of the Authority of the Pope, will never attempt any such thing. And the Hereticks are at very great Variance also amongst themselves; and for this reason *Germany* being divided into severall small Republicks, cannot do him any harm at all; and it is besides, part of it, made subject to the House of *Austria*, and the Archdukes thereof, by the Emperours; and part also to certain Archbishops, who are withall secular Princes; as namely the Archbishops of *Mantz*, of *Colen*, *Trevers*, *Salsburg*, *Straisburg*, and *Bamberg*; and part also to the Dukes of *Bavaria*; so that the *Protestants* can by no meanes make any Insurrection against the King of Spain.

The Lower *Germany* also is divided into more Commonwealths then the other; all which bear Armes against the King of *Spain*, though it be only to defend themselves, and not to offend Him. And of this number are the Provinces of *Holland*, *Frisland*, and *Zealand*. Besides, the Upper and the Lower *Germanies* differ very much in their Religion: which we may also say of the *Danes*, *Norwegians*, *Transylvanians*, *Gotlanders*, *Poles*, *French*, *Switzers*, and *Grisons*; so that the King hath no need at all to fear, that these should ever all joyn together against him: and besides, the King retains a great part of these Nations in pay, and by that means keeps them his friends: and then, the King of *Poland*, and the Prince of *Transylvania* are allied

allied to him by Marriage, and so are in league and amity with him. So that He hath no body to stand in fear of, but only the King of *France*, and the King of *England*; which two Princes, by reason of their being of different Religions, can never agree together.

Now although the King of *Spain* cannot as yet subdue the King of *France*, yet it makes very much for His Interest, that the King of *France*, being absolved by the *Pope*, is returned again to the Obedience of the Church. For otherwise, he would have been the Head of all the *Transalpine Hereticks*, and would have marcht with an Army of them over into *Italy*, to the great Prejudice both of the *Pope*, and of our King: which None of the Hereticks hath to this day adventured to do, merely for want of a Powerful General to head them. Then besides, there is a Division broken out in *France*, betwixt the Catholicks and the Hereticks: and, which is the chiefeft thing of all, there are in that Kingdome many Potent Bishops, who would not by any means see *Spain* ruined. And lastly, our Kings Subjects do not come into the field with Lances, Swords, and Horses, as the *French* use to do; but they come into it armed with Guns, which are a kind of Arms that are fitter for the defending of strong Holds and Fortifications, then for the setting upon an Enemy in an open Field. And hence it is, that the *French* are able indeed to resist all the *Spaniards* Attempts, but they cannot overcome them: for, in this case, the very Princes, and States of *Italy*, who have to this day alwaies held with the *French*, would go over to the *Spaniard*: for it is their Design, to keep the Ballance alwaies so even betwixt these two Nations, as that neither of them may preponderate, and bear down the Scales, and so make a Prey of the Other: which *Hiero*, King of *Syracuse*, heretofore laboured to do, betwixt the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians*, although he failed of his purpose. Besides the King of *France* cannot march with an Army into *Spain*, by reason of the Fortified Places, and Castles that lye in his way, and are kept by the *Spaniards*, who are very well skilled in defending such Places. Neither can he so soon march out with an Army against *Milaw*, or *Naples*, but that the King of *Spain* can be much sooner in *France* with an Army, and shall so force him to return back again, and defend his own Kingdom. Neither did the King of *France* ever passe over into *Italy*, unlesse when he was assisted
by;

by the Pope, as the Expedition of Charles of *Anjou* testifies; or except he were called in by some Prince, or State of *Italy*; as Charles the Eighth was called in by the Duke of *Millan*: which yet at this time can hardly be done again. For, the *Italians* were now afraid, that they would bring in a New Religion with them. And besides it is a usual thing, that that Prince that first calls Forraigners in to his aide, shall be first ruined by them: for, he must necessarily entertain them, and allow them Quarters; who after they have overcome the adverse Party, will joyn with them, and so drive out Him, who called them first in. Examples of this we have in the *Sforza's*, *Castruccio's*, and the *Florentines*, with many others; and also in the Pope himself; although his own Papal Authority restored him again. And therefore the Spaniard hath no need to fear the King of *France* much.

And as for the *English*, he hath much lesse reason to stand in fear of them, seeing they are shut up within an Island: and we seldome see Islanders get any sure footing, and make themselves Masters of any part of a Forraign Continent. And therefore it is sufficient for them, if they can keep their own; only they send out their Ships to fetch in Prizes by Sea: but for this Mischief I shall hereafter set down a Remedy. Only let the King of Spain take care, that the *English* joyn not their Navy with the *Hollanders*, *Scots*, *Danes*, *Norwegians*, and *Dan-zickers*: for if they should, they might then be able to overrun all Spain; as the *Alans*, *Goths*, and *Vandals* did of old. And yet seeing that these Nations differ all in Religion, and the King of Spain doth craftily under hand sow new seeds of Dissention amongst them, there is no great cause to fear, that they should joyn their forces together upon any design.

Let us now see, what Spain is able to do within it self, and by what means it may become Greater, and enlarge its Territories; laying down this for a Ground; That for the rendring of any Dominion whatsoever Firm, and Durable, it is necessarily required, that there be first, a Natural Sociableness, and an apt Correspondence, among the subjects themselves, and then, betwixt the Prince and the subjects; as there is in Mans body, betwixt the Members themselves, and also betwixt them and the Head. Now this Natural Sociableness is founded, first in the Man and Wife; then in the Father of the Family and his Children,

dren with the rest of his Family; and then again, in several Families being linked, and united together; then, in those also, who are allied together by the Bond of Consanguinity, or Affinity; and likewise, those that live in one Common Aire, and Climate, enjoying the same Temper of the Heavens; as also, those that agree in their Lawes, Manners, Customs, and studies; whereto also we may add their using one Common Language, and wearing all one & the same Habit in Apparel. Neither do I account their Identity of *Species* or of *Humanity*, to be any small Bond of this *Natural sociableness*; namely, because they are All Men: and wheresoever Many of these Bonds & Ties meet together, there also must necessarily be a Firmer, and more Durable Association made up, and a more lasting Dominion settled. Hence it is, that the Italians and the Spaniards do so readily jump and agree together; both because they understand each the others Language, and are also like each other in their Manners, Bodies, and their Rites and Customs; which can never be amongst the *French*, because they differ among themselves not only in their Language, and Manners, but are also of a different Natural Constitution and temper. So the Spaniards would much more easily, be brought to enter into a league of Society and Friendship with the *Africans*, then with the *Netherlanders*; who are of a much more different Constitution from them. For, the Spaniards are Naturally Hot and Dry, and are therefore Lean, and of a *Low Stature*, being withal Sharp-witted, *Subtle*, and *Talkative*. But on the Contrary, the *Netherlanders* are Cold, *Corpulent*, and *Big-boned*, and are Heavy and Dull, and of few words. Whosoever therefore is to Rule Several, and Different Nations, and would keep them all within the bounds of Obedience, let him endeavour to reduce them into a conformity, as far as he is able, and to make them in all things like to each other. And this Uniting of Men to one another, God himself, the Author of all Polity, had pointed out unto Men.

Now, there are Three sorts of this Union we here speak of: the First is, of Minds, which is caused by Religion: which is indeed the strongest of all Unions; for it uniteth together in Opinion Nations, that are at the greatest distance that may be from each other. Upon this have both Mens Wills, and Actions, their Dependency; and in This, are both their Tongues & Arms united. By this, the Pope ruleth over *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa*, and

America; and in a word, over all the Christians in the whole World. Whereas, on the contrary, the Emperour of *Germany* is scarce able to Rule *Germany* alone, although the People there are otherwise as like, and as much agreeing among themselves as may be, both in their shape of Body, Habit, Arms, Rites, and Customes; and all, because It wants this first Union, namely, of Religion. For, there are so many several, different Opinions in Religion among the *Germans*, that it may be truly said of them, *Quos homines, tot Sententia*; so many Men, so many Minds. And for this reason the *English*, and *Helvetians* suffer but two sorts only of Religion in their Countries: for that common saying, *Divide, & impera*, that is, *Divide thy subjects, and thou shalt rule them*, is of no use here; but rather on the contrary, *Divide, & perdes*, that is, *If thou divide thy subjects, thou shalt ruin thy self*. *Catharine de Medicis*, Queen of France, that she might, contrary to the *Salique Law*, sit at the Helme, and have the Government of the Kingdome in her hands, complied sometimes with the *Catholicks*, and sometimes with the *Huguenots*: but by this means she brought destruction both upon her self, and upon her Sons; one of which was Slain by a *Dominican Fryer*.

And therefore, in this Particular, the King of Spain is more happy then any other besides; because that his Kingdomes, though they lye at a great distance from one another, are yet all joyned together, and united in one Religion; and in this very respect also he stands upon better terms then the Great Turk himself, or any other Prince whatsoever; because, as we have shewed before, He converts those that are under his subjection, and makes them to be all of one and the same Faith.

The second is, the Union of Bodies: and in this, the Turk goes beyond all other Princes; for He hath under his subjection, and in perfect Obedience, both *Mahumetans*, *Christians*, and *Jewes*, which are all as much differing one from another in their Religions as can be: neither doth this their diversity of Religion prejudice him at all; because that he brings up their Sons to serve him in his Wars; and besides, He leaves all such of his Subjects, as are not of his Religion, without either Armes, or any meanes possible of doing him any harm. But indeed, in case He should intrust any of these with the Government of any part of his Empire, and should exercise, not a *Despotical*, but a *Political* Sovereignty

rainy over them, He would quickly be brought into Sad Straites by them; as we see it, for example, in many of our *German* Princes at this day; or at least all meanes of enlarging his Empire would quite be cut off from him; as, we see, the case now stands with the Emperour, and with the King of *Poland*. If haply among the *Turks* Vassals there should chance to start up some Gallant-Spirited Person, he might possibly prove to be the Ruin of his Empire; as *Scanderbeg* had like to have been, had he had but the Christians as ready to assist him, as the *Genueses* were to do him a mischief; who both to their own, and also to the great Losse of *Hunniades* K. of *Hungary*, were hired, for so many Crownes, to passe over forty Thousand Mahumetans out of *Asia* into *Europe*; by which meanes *Amurath*, that was before in a manner utterly broken, and had well near lost all, was now so well relieved and recruited again, as that by these forces He afterwards made himself Master of half *Europe*. I shall not here speake of *Moses*, who was raised up against God by *Pharaoh*; according to which example God may also raise up some of the *Turks* Christian Slaves against him. The like Insurrection may also possibly utterly Subvert the Spanish Monarchy.

The Third is, the Union of Monies and Riches, by meanes whereof the *Turk* commands the *Ragussians*, who are otherwise a free People; but they are forced to pay Him tribute, that so they may enjoy their Estates, lying within his Dominions, as also because they are too neer Neighbours to him; which Neighbourhood alwaies inforceth the weaker to be a Servant to him that is stronger then he. By this Third kind of Union the King of Spain beareth rule over the *Genueses*; because that their Merchandise, and their Baronies lye within his Territories. And therefore I say, that that Prince, whose Dominions lye far asunder one from the other, ought in the first place to endeavour to joyn them together by a *Natural Union*; and then Secondly by *Political Bonds and Ties*. As concerning *Natural Ties*, the King may by them joyn his Spaniards with any other Nations, although for the most part they are hated by all Nations; for, a Spaniard, whiles he is a Servant, is humble enough; but, where he is a Master, he is very proud. And he is, besides, a great Boaster, and Loves to deal very sublely, and cunningly in meer trifling businesses: though he does not carry himself so in mat-

ters of any Moment. It is also certain enough, that the Spanish Language and Habit doth please most people; but then again, their ordinary Carriage and Conversation, and their swelling Titles, together with their Ambitious striving for the uppermost places at all meetings, and their too affected, stately Gate, distasts every body. And because these Vices are Naturally Inherent in this Nation, although they cast a blot upon their Virtues, namely their Patience, Religion, Manlike Courage, together with their Eloquence; yet they cannot possibly be quite taken away; and therefore others must come over unto their Manners, as trees are grafted into one another. And therefore I say, it would be a very excellent good Course, if our Spanish Souldiers, and Barons, that live abroad in Forraign Countries, should marry Wives out of the same: and besides, those Arts by which strangers should be invited in to match with Spanish women, and by Offices, (of which I have formerly spoken) deserve so much the more serious Consideration, because there lies more within them, then they outwardly make shew of. And this will appear more clearly when I shall come to speak of each several Nation in particular.

As concerning *Political Unions*, the King must endeavour to procure an Union betwixt his ow Nation and others; and especially in *Religion*; which is the surest means of uniting men together in the World; and this must be done by the meanes of good, and Learned Preachers; as we have said before. And next, by the Tye of New, and Famous Arts and Sciences, and Languages, which would draw all men into an admiration of so great an Empire. And let Him alwaies make war rather upon his Neighbouring Enemies, then upon those that are farther off, and let Him go himself in person to the wars. And lastly, let him perswade, and invite all Nations that traffick into the *West-Indies*, to take up their Commodities in some parts of his Territories; as we see, that *Genueves* do at this day. And therefore let Him so order all businessses, as that one Kingdom may alwaies stand in need of another; that so by this means there may be a continual Tie betwixt them. And let him seek out all possible ways of setting his enemies at variance amongst themselves, and labour that they may disagree both in Religion, Leagues, Manners, Sciences, Conditions, Traffick, and all things necessary: and let him be in League with all those that may do him any

any hurt. All which things that they may appear the more clearly, I shall now fall to speak Particularly of all such several Nations, as may either annoy, or be advantageous to Him; with- all laying down the means by which they may be brought to an Union with him. For it is an Undoubted Truth, that every great Empire, if it be *United* within it self, is so much the safer from the Enemies Incursions, because it is not only *Great*, but *United* also; whence chiefly is derived all its strength and Power.

CHAP. XX.

Of Spain.



O what hath been said, we may further add, that seeing that there are so many several sorts of people in Spain, the King ought to take care, that those amongst them, who have heretofore been more Eminent then the rest, for the largeness of Dominion they had there, be at Unity among themselves. And therefore let Him labour especially that there may be all fair Correspondence and friendship betwixt the *Castilians*, *Aragonians*, and the *Portugues*; and let Him confer equal Offices upon them in Court, and let him bestow preferments upon the *Portugues* in the Kingdom of *Castile*; and upon the *Castilians*, in the Kingdom of *Portugal*; & also let him, as it were, tie them one to the other by the common bond of Marriages betwixt each other, and by the Community of Navigation. And the same course also is necessary to be taken with the Mountainous *Biscaines*, and the *Lionois*; and also betwixt the *Astureans* and *Galicians*, and betwixt the Champian-inhabiting *Andaluzians* and *Valentians*: and let all these be brought to a familiarity one with another, notwithstanding they are so far distant in place from one another.

Let him also erect in these several Provinces, such Common Colledges, and *Seminaries* for Souldiers, both for the Theorical, and Practical part of War, as we have before spoken, of that by means of these, both themselves, and also the King may be rendered the more secure: and let Him take such order, that they may marry Wives from forraign Countries, and so may have

Children by them; who, in case any War should be made upon them, may fight for them, not as if by chance they were engaged thereto, but as they stand bound to do so by the Law of Nature. And by little and little their old Customes are also to be abolished, but not upon a suddain: and let them be instructed how to bear Offices in *Italy*, rather then in the *Netherlands*: But in *Spain*, let *Italians* be put to bear Offices with the Spaniards. And seeing that *Spain* is the Principal Seat of the Whole Monarchy, there ought in it to be all Vertues and Sciences in their prime, and height; namely Justice and Religion; that so others may the more readily be induced to make the Spaniards their pattern to walk by, and may suck in Their Manners, whom they see to live so well, and happily. But in case that They should be of a Dissolute Life, and of corrupt Manners, they would be abhorred by all Nations: not to say any thing, that in *Gravity*, and *Constancy* of Manners, they ought to excell all others, because they have an example amongst them whence they may learn these Vertues.

And in the first place it is necessary that they be very faithful, as well in the times of Peace, as of War; in which Principle they must be instructed, and brought up, in the aforesaid Seminaries, where they are taught to yield Obedience and Service to the King.

And then, if the King shall approve himself to be a Good Souldier, and a Cherisher of Valour, and Worth; He will necessarily thereby winne himself the Love, and Affections of all men. And let him be sure withal to deal Faithfully and Justly with every one; for then, all his Subjects will readily, and chearfully compose themselves to the Example of His carriage and behaviour towards others.

Let those Castles, and strong Holds, that lye next to *France*, be very well guarded, and furnished with all Necessaries; and likewise those that are at *Corruña*, and on the Northern Coast of Spain, looking toward *England*: and all care must be taken, that these be not set upon by the Enemy. But yet, the best way would be, to have a gallant Fleet, consisting of a Thousand sail, to be alwaies in readinesse upon all Occasions, as I shall shew by and by. Let the Spaniards also teach whatever *Africans*, or West, or East-Indians, are either brought over to them, or else come over to them of their own accord, all Mechanical Arts and

and Professions; but let them study themselves only *Military Sciences*; and let them indeed rather addict themselves to these Studies, then to those of Books: But as for all Forraigners, let them be put rather to the reading of Books, then the Practise of Armes. For we see, that the Learned City *Athens* was overcome in War by the Martial City *Sparta*: both which notwithstanding were afterward reduced, and brought under the power and subjection of the *Macedonians*; namely, because this Nation had been better instructed in the Use and Exercise of Arms, by their King, *Philip of Macedonia*, the Father of *Alexander the Great*, then either of those Cities had been. It is sufficient therefore, if the King have Seminaries for the Arts and Languages, for His new *Austrian Order* (before spoken of) to be brought up in, among his Forreign Subjects, and Nations; but as for others, there is no great care to be taken of them, but they may apply themselves to the Study of Sciences and Arts, if they think fit: however, it is very necessary, that, in Spain, all persons, as well in the said Seminaries, as out of them, be brought up in the Exercise, and Knowledge of Armes.

There ought also to be Schools erected for the Educating and Training up of the Younger Sons of the Spanish Nobility: whence the King may be furnished with Able and Faithful Commanders, both for Land, and Sea service: of which thing also we have said somewhat before.

Neither ought any Man to despise, or set light by the Country of Spain, because of the Barrenesse of it: for this defect is not to be imputed to the Nature of the Soyl, but onely to the Scarfity of people to manure it. For this Country is of a most fruitful Soyl of it self; and yeildeth plentifully all things whatsoever, that are necessary for the sustaining of Mans life; and if it were but carefully manured, and tilled, it would be able to feed an infinite number of people: in like manner as heretofore it was able, besides Its own Inhabitants, to feed also the vast Armies of the *Carthagineans*, and *Romans*. Neither did any Country longer, or more gallantly stand out against the Power of the *Romans*, then *Spain* did: neither had It ever any Army cut off, but it was able presently to raise a greater.

But to passe by Ancient Stories, it is reported by our Latter Writers, that the King of *Granada* brought into the Field, against *Ferdinand*, Fifty Thousand Horse; which number of Horse,

Horse, I doubt, would scarcely at this day be made up out of all the other Provinces besides, both of Spain, and *Portugal*; not that either the Nature of these Countries, or the Temper of the Heavens, are changed; but only, because that the number of the Inhabitants is grown lesse, and so consequently the Manuring and tilling of the Ground is very much neglected now, more then heretofore. Now, the number of the Inhabitants is decreased, first by reason of that war with the *Moors*, where they got the better of the Spaniards; for, in that War, within the space of three Months, there were slain Seven Hundred Thousand Men. After this followed another war, which continued for the space of Seven Hundred seventy and eight years; till such time as the whole Nation of the *Moors* was utterly rooted out of Spain: in which space of time there was a Vast, and indeed incredible number of men slain on both sides, insomuch that many Cities, yea and many whole Large Tracts of Ground were left utterly desert, and void of Inhabitants. And this War was scarcely ended, when presently the Spaniards prepared for other New Wars again, setting upon *Africk*, *Naples*, *Milan*, and the *West-Indies*: and having overcome all these, they then set themselves to endeavour the Recovery of the Netherlands: in which Wars also there was a vast number of Men lost, being cut off either by the War, or those other Calamities, that are the usual Consequents of War. And then again, even now at this day they are continually sending abroad infinite numbers of people into the aforesaid *West-Indies*, partly to make Plantations there, and partly to Traffick as Merchants there, or else to keep some Garrisons or other. And therefore the Practise of Husbandry hath been a long time neglected in *Spain*, because that the people of that Nation are naturally inclined to the Exercise of Armes, and so rather seek after Profit that way, by their Pay, as Souldiers, then by any other way whatsoever.

And indeed the *Spaniard* is but a heavy, dull fellow, not onely at Agriculture, and Points of Husbandry, but generally at all Mechanical Arts whatsoever: and that is the reason that Spain is so unfurnished of Mechanicks, and that their Wooll, Silk, and what other Commodities the Country affords, are all transported abroad; and whatever course matter they do not send out, is in a manner all wrought up by the Italians onely; and as for their Fields, and Vineyards, they leave the manuring of them to the

The French. And if we would but diligently examine what the reason should be, that Spain hath enjoyed a most quiet, and undisturbed Peace, for so long time together; whereas *Franco* is continually harassed and imbroyled in Wars, we should find the Principal reason hereof to be this, namely, because that Spain is continually employed in some Forreign Wars, either in the *Indies*, the *Netherlands*, in subduing some Hereticks or other, or in keeping off the Invasions of the *Turks*, or of the *Moors*; in all which the Spaniards have both their hands, and Minds wholly employed and set on work; mean while their Country continues quiet, and they themselves vent all their venom of Sedition against others. And therefore I may not here omit to relate, how that many times, for want of Souldiers, they have been forced to do, as the *Finlanders* are used to do; who, when they go out to fight against the *Muscovites*, are wont to carry along with them a great number of Fierce Mastive dogs, which also many times do them very good service. Which very thing was also put in practise in the *West Indies* by *Vasco Nugnez*, not without much slaughter done upon those Barbarians, many times also by this meanes putting them to flight. But we have already dwelt long enough upon Spain.

CHAP. XXI.

of Italy.

Spain hath no Nation, that is more a friend to It, then *Italy*. And therefore for the preserving of the Amity and Friendship of the Italians, it is very fit, that the King of Spain should so court and ply by Benefits and Gifts both the *Neapolitans* and the *Milanois*, as that other Nations seeing it should, admire the Felicity of those Two countries, & should withal wish, themselves had the like good Fortune. And this the King may do, by remitting something of their Gabels and Taxes, & by increasing the number of Men in both those Dominions; and He may also erect in both the Countries certain *Seminaries*, out of which as out of these *Trojan Horse*, may issue forth Able Persons; that

that are skilled both in all the Liberal, and Military Sciences, and such as are withal most firm, and resolved Catholicks: as we have hinted before. Which thing would certainly cause in Forreigners both Admiration, and Astonishment; neither would the King (as the Opinion of some men herein is) lose any thing at all thereby.

Let there be also some course taken for the Restraining of Usurers; and let Him set up some *Monti della Pieta*, as they call them; that is, *Banks of Charity*; which are certain publick Houses, where the poorer sort of Citizens have the liberty of taking up Mony upon their *Pawns*. Let them also restrain the growth of the Nobility: and let the *Barons* Prisons be visited sometimes; for These are many times too cruel. Neither would I have it in the power of any, to imprison any man by any private Authority, except it be in Case of Sedition, or Violation of the Publick Peace, or of Treason against the Prince; and, those that are Prisoners, should be dealt more gently with, then they have been hitherto wont to be: for, the Kings Officers, by their Intolerable Cruelty, have caused the King to be branded with that Infamous Name of a *Tyrant*; especially in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

And I conceive, it would make very much for the winning of the Love, and Good will of the common People, if the King would appoint One *Commissary*, at least, who should joyn to himself some of the Clergy, and should go and visit all the *Publicque Prisons*, reforming what abuses they find there: and should also take an Account of all Usurers, and of the Inferiour sort of *Publick Officers*; as hath been touched before. I would also have him to shew mercy to such as are Proscribed, and Banisht persons, under the Pretense of sending them into *Africk*: and I would really advise Him, once in seven years, to send all such into the *West-Indies*.

As for those Souldiers, which have alwayes hitherto been set over the subjects, I would have them to be all disbanded; and in their stead, to have so much the greater Number of Gallies provided; that should lye all along the Sea Coasts throughout all the Kings Dominions, to guard, and secure them against the Invasions of the *Turk*. For these Souldiers have alwaies carried themselves very Insolently, and proudly towards the People; but have been still very backward, and unwilling to go out in any

any Expedition by Sea against the *Turks*: and besides, when they have returned home from any such Expedition, they have usually abused poor Citizens, that have behaved themselves stoutly in the Fight, cudgelling them, and forcing from them such prisoners as they had taken; and so afterwards in a *Thraasonicall* boasting way, make their brags abroad that Themselves had taken those *Turks* prisoners: which most base, unworthy course we see practised in *Calabria* every day. It were a better way therefore, that the subjects themselves should take up Arms, and go out against the *Turks*; and should have at least half the Mony that the Prisoners taken in the War are valued at: for by this means the King will have both Valiant, and Rich men to Fight for Him: neither shall He have cause to fear, least the subjects, through the hatred they bear the Souldiers for their Cruelties, should seek to change their Masters, and bring in some other to Rule over them.

Let Him also take order for the restraining of the knavish Diligence of the Officers of the Kings Exchequer, who, to maintain the Kings Right, forsooth, forbear not to use any manner of cruelty towards the poor subjects, imprisoning them, and extorting mony from them, under any pretenses, how unjust so ever. But of these evils, and their Remedies, we have spoken sufficiently before, where we discoursed of *Justice* &c.

These Sea expeditions will render the King secure both from his Enemies abroad, and his own subjects at home; whereas, on the contrary, the Souldiers that are set over the Country people, do at first but very little good, and afterwards do none at all: And therefore the putting of good full Guards into all the strong Holds upon the Sea Coast, will be sufficient for the securing of the Inland parts: and withall, the People will by this means be kept in a Loving Awfulnesse, and Dread of their Prince.

The best part of *Italy*, that is to say, the Kingdome of *Naples*, and the Duchy of *Millan*, is subject to the King of Spain: and those other parts that are not so, are stirred up by their several Princes, who stand in fear of the Spaniards Potency, against the Spaniards, &c made to hate them: whence it is, that they are wont to threaten the King of Spain with two things. The first is, that they will call in the *French*, and encourage them to set upon the state of *Millan*: which mischief however the King might easily

easily prevent, if he would but place strong Garrisons in all the Frontier Towns of the said Duchy, and would quite destroy all the small, unfortified Villages, that lying here and there scattered about, are made a Booty by the Enemy that hath liberty to range up and down where they please. And He might take order also, as the *Hungarians* do, that all the Provision of Corn and all the subjects Goods be carried into the Fortified Cities, and Places of strength, with all manner of Mechanical Instruments; that so those that have fled thither in the time of any Siege or Incurfions of the Enemy, may have where withall to set themselves on work, and may so get wherewith to keep themselves. But *Genoa* lies very conveniently for the coming into the Kings Assistance; and so doth *Naples* also, if so be the King would but provide himself of such a Fleet as I spake of before, to ly about those Seas in a Readinesse. For it is a most certain Truth, and that hath been confirmed by long experience, that He that can make himself Master of the Sea, shall give Lawes to the Continent, and command it; and shall be able to Land men whensoever, and wheresoever he pleases, and shall find it convenient to do so: which the King of *France*, should he be invited into *Italy*. could not be able to do.

It will be a good course therefore for the King of Spain, to be in League with his Neighbours, the *Switzers*, and the *Grisons*; and let Him chuse out of these Nations Thirty Thousand Soldiers, to whom He shall in the mean time allow half pay, till such time as He shall have Occasion to use them; according as the *Venetians* are wont to do: and this Army let him make use of for the repelling of any powerful Enemy assaulting him. But yet, lest these people, encreasing their numbers, should themselves invade the Duchy of *Milan*, which thing we know to have happened heretofore in the time of the *Romans*; I would have this Army to be divided, and some part of it to be sent into the *Netherlands*, and another to *Naples*, and there may some of them also be sent abroad as far as the *West-Indies*; that so, serving him abroad in His Wars, they may at length be all destroyed. And certainly should this People but keep at home, and not go so much abroad to Wars, as they do, but should unite their forces together; it would be a very easie matter for them to subdue all *Italy*: but now, whiles that they serve, some of them under this Prince, and some under that in their wars; there is no great reason

reason to fear any such thing of them: However it would be a very good way, to divide them, as we have shewed, and to send them abroad several waies.

The second thing, that the *Italians* are wont to threaten the *Spaniard* with, is, that perhaps They may enter into a League with the *Pope*, and the King of *France*, to the Prejudice of *Spain*. But this conceit of theirs also, the King of *Spain* may easily elude: because no one of them dares do any thing without the *Pope* and the King of *France*; as being not able of himself to defend himself; much lesse to attempt any thing against others: unlesse it be by chance, and by taking some extraordinary Advantage; as the *Venetians* did heretofore, at what time the *Popes* were at War with the Emperours, and when the *Transalpines* made bold to march over into *Italy*. And therefore, it so be the King of *Spain* have but the *Pope* on his side, He hath no need at all to fear the Princes of *Italy*: neither indeed is there any Change made in any State, or Dominion in *Italy*, without the *Pope*; and, the *Pope* alone hath been the cause of all the Mutations that have happened in the Kingdom of *Naples*. And in case the *Pope* should take up Arms against any Party, or against any Common-Wealth in *Italy*; He would presently prove the Conquerour; by having recourse immediately to his wonted Helps; such as are, His giving out *Indulgences* against it; and his absolving the subjects from the Oathes they have taken to be true to the same; and by calling in others to His Assistance: as *Pope Julius* the second did, at that time when He Excommunicated the *Venetians*: at which time they were utterly crushed by him.

Now my Counsel to the King of *Spain* is, that He would yeeld to the *Pope*, and do whatsoever He would have; and that He would give His Commands abroad as *Constantine* the Emperour heretofore did; namely, that the *Pope* shall have supream Authority in *Last Appeals*: and so likewise that Two Bishops with the King, who then holds the place of a Clergy man, be Judges in all causes that shall be devolved unto them by way of *Last Appeals*. And let it be agreed upon betwixt him and the *Pope*, that what Princes soever shall refuse to submit hereto, they shall be deprived by their Authority.

For if some of the Princes of *Italy*, or indeed, if all of them should fall off from the *Pope*: the King of *Spain*, who is the Vindicator of the Pontifical Authority, being assisted by *Croisados*, and other Aides from the *Pope*, would by degrees ruin them
all

all, one after another, or else bring them in Subjection under himself; and thus, whiles he yields to the Pope,, He is sure to have both His Affections surely united to Him, and His power assisting him; and he shall withal make himself Master of the Princes of *Italy's* Dominions. And this may possibly hereafter come to passe; although, as matters now stand, all that the King can do, is, to make it his businesse to keep these Princes at difference amongst themselves; and to make either the Duke of *Parma*, or some other of them, Sure to Him; and then He need care but little for any of the rest. Let him also give the *Venetians* the Tittle of being *The Fathers of Italy*; and let him desire of them the favour, to have some of the Principal of them sent to him, whom he may imploy as *Judges* in the *Netherlands*; because that this Nation doth more willingly admit of *Italians* then Spaniards; and, of all *Italians*, of the *Venetian*, rather then any other; and upon These *Venetians*, so imployed by him, let him confer the Dignities of Barons.

And seeing that it is known to every man, that the *Venetians* are both very Just, and also free from Ambition, and so the fitter to be made use of, if not for the gaining of any New Dominions, yet certainly for the keeping of what are already gotten; let the King so order the matter, as that the *Hollanders* may be brought to desire Lawes to be prescribed them by the *Venetians*: of which I shall say more hereafter. And if by these Arts He could so far prevaile with them, as to get them to give over their travelling to *Alexandria* and *Syria*, to traffick there, and to take up a trade of Merchandise with those in the *West-Indies*, as the *Portuguez* have done; He would by this meanes in time make Himself Lord of the *Venetians*, as He hath already of the *Genoeses*.

Now that he may also secure himself in the mean time from the *Venetians*, it would be his best Course to provide himself of such a Navy, as I spake of before; and He should likewise do well to make use of the Archduke of *Carinthia*, and His Neighbours the *Grisons* in his wars; by this meanes to fright the *Venetians* the more. And besides, let him give entertainment to all such persons as are banished by the *Florentines*, or by the *Venetians*, and receive them into his service in his wars: and he may do well, to bestow extraordinary rewards upon them too: that by this meanes he may draw others of them also over to him, who may serve under him, if need be, even against their owne

owne Native Country : Which indeed was the frequent practise of the Duke of *Millan* : and also many times of the King of *France*, when for the same reason, he invited in to him all the Banished *Genoeses*, and *Florentines*. And for the same reason also the *Strozza's*, *Piccolominies*, and the Lord *Peter de Medicis* might in these our times strike no small terrour into the Great Duke of *Florence*.

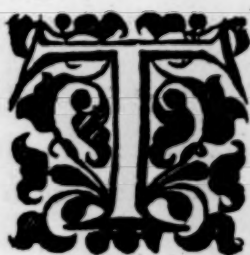
If therefore the King would have these Princes of *Italy* to continue at variance among themselves, let him take heed how he strikes any fear into them : for, Fear is the onely meanes to unite them together : and therefore let him beware that he discover not at all, that He is angry with them. Now there ought not any meanes to be used for the causing of any Division amongst them through differences in Religion : neither indeed can any such thing possibly be effected : but this must be done only by bestowing Rewards upon some of them; as we have said before. And if any one of the House of *Austria* should chance to be elected Pope, *Italy* were then quite undone.

It would do very well also if the King would give way that Others might have liberty to come and Traffick at *Genoa*, as His Subjects do : for, *Genoa* is, as it were, the King of Spain's Treasury : and He makes use of them, to keep the Princes of *Italy* in awe. And besides, the *Genois* assist Him very much in poynt of Navigation, and Seafaring busineses: as hath been said before. But yet these *Genois* are to be treated handsomely, and cunningly: that they may not seem to be forced to do what they do, but only by Love, and Fair Usage to be brought about to be so Serviceable, and Obedient to the King of Spain. Yet would I have the King pay his Debts to them as soon as might be: and he may either pawn, or else sell them some few Townes, or Fortified Places; least, if by chance there should be any General Rising in *Italy*, the *Genoises* Banners might also march along with them for company. Let Him therefore continually have a Vigilant eye upon the two most Flourishing States of the *Venetians* and the *Genueses*: yet of the two, the *Venetian* doth far excell the *Genuesian*, both in Dignity and Power: The reason whereof is, because that the *Venetians*, by maintaining a Free Trade of Merchandise with other Nations, have reasonably well improved every man his own particular Estate, but have advanced the Publick infinitely; whereas the *Genois*, by being

being chiefly great Bankers, and Mony-Masters, have infinitely enlarged their own Private Estates, but the Publick hath much suffered thereby. Which being considered, the King, in his Transactions with these two different Commonwealths, must proceed in a different manner.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Sicily, and Sardinia.



He *Sicilians*, and *Sardinians*, being both Islanders, and also somewhat near Neighbours to *Africk*, ought, for these reasons, to have stricter Lawes imposed upon them, then the *Italians*: and a good way to keep them within the bounds of Obedience, would be, for the King to secure all their Havens, and Fortified places lying upon the Sea Coast. And these places would very easily be rendred secure, if the King had but such a Navy continually in a readinesse as I spake of before; which I would not have to lye all together in a body, but to be divided into severall Squadrons, which should lye round about *Italy*, and these Islands, and so keep them safe from all Invasions of Enemies; the Souldiers of which Fleet, if they should be set over the Countrymen, would do much more hurt then good; and besides, the number of them must then be enlarged. Whereas by this meanes the Prizes that they take, from the Moors, and Turks, would be sufficient to maintain them; and the King would also be thereby enriched, and the Coast of *Africk* made safe and secure. And if it should chance, that those of *Algier* and *Tunis* should at any time cause any tumult in favour of the Christians, there should be Souldiers alwaies in a readinesse to come into their assistance, by sayling over into the Kingdome of *Oran*: with which people, they may Traffick, by carrying into them *Silks*, *Wheat*, and other Commodities, so long as the *Adriatick* Sea is Scoured and made Safe by the *Venetians*; so that there would be no need of fearing either the *Turks*, or *Pirats*.

In these Islands there may very convenient *Seminaries* be erected

erected for the breeding up of Souldiers, of such Children, as with their Mothers shall be taken from the *Turks* and *Moors*; and in these may be also taught the *Arabick* tongue; and there may be Monasteries for Friars erected also, as we have hinted before. And here we are to give a Caution, that whensoever any Merchants put in at either of these Islands, either from *England*, *Turky*, or *Africk*, there ought to be present some or other of the Clergy, lest the inhabitants should be infected with some Forreign Heresy. For Islands, by reason of their Commodiousnesse for the reception of People of all sorts, are very subject to such Mutations and Changes; which is also observed by *Plato* himself. Those that live near the Sea Coast, by reason of their so constant Conversation with Forreigners (for which reason *Plato* called the Sea the School-master of all Wickednesse) are Crafty, subtle, and Circumspect, and such as know very well what belongs to Trading and Merchandise; But on the contrary, the Inlanders are sincere, upright, and just, and content with a little.

The King might also make very good use of Great Cities, such as is *Syracuse* in *Sicily*; which, as *Cicero* here tofore said of it, had it been divided into four parts, would very well have made as many handsome Cities. And such as at this day also is *Palermo*, in the same Island, which is adorned with Stately Churches, and Palaces; wherein there are two things worthy to be taken notice of; the one is, a stately street, that runs all along the whole breadth of the City, and divides it in a manner into two parts, and is both very streight, long, and broad, and withal adorned with very fair buildings; so that I do not know, whether all *Italy* can any where shew the like of it, or no: The other is, a vast *Pile*, or Banke, raised up by an infinite expence of mony against the Sea; by meanes whereof the City is accommodated with a very fair, capacious Haven: which is a work that is really worthy of the Ancient *Roman* Magnificence. Islands, as *Plato* saith, were, for the most part, the Nests of Tyrants. But touching such Havens as are necessary in case of such fears, and likewise of Navigation, and Sea voyages, I shall have occasion to speak in its proper place.

And as concerning these Islanders, they ought not to be kept short, and to be defrauded of things necessary; nor to be held to too hard meat: but they have need, rather, that such

ners, as lye lurking amongst them ; and also the Publick prisons should be inquired into , and visited ; as we have said before. There may also be erected some Seminaries for Sea-men ; to which may be yearly sent, in Gallies, young men to be instructed in the Art of Navigation, as the Custome is among the *Venetians* ; and this the King ought to do so much the rather, because that he wants young Seamen more then any thing : but yet to these he must joyn some Transalpine Seamen , for the encreasing of his number.

There may also be instituted in these Islands two New Orders of Knights, such as those of *Malta*; neither ought the Revenewes belonging to the Knights that are of the Order of *St James*, or of any other Order of Knighthood, to be bestowed upon Idle Persons ; that the King may not alwaies be forced to make use of Auxiliary Seamen ; or else to imploy Mercenaries, such as the *Genois* are.

In such Islands as these, the Barons ought to have a stricter hand held over them, then any others ; because that the Conveniency of the situation of such places may tempt them to take an occasion of Rebelling, here, rather then in any other places, these men being indeed Naturally inclined to be Rebels. And therefore the best way would be, to send Barons from out of some other Countries into these Islands ; and of all other, those of Spain are the fittest ; the rather, because they lye all in the same Climate : and these should be put in trust with all Offices, and Seafaring Affaires ; with whom may be joyned some *Transalpines*, partly to assist them as Souldiers, and partly for Procreation of Children. Neither ought any Noble men of the Natives to be intrusted with any of the stronger Holds, or Castles : for these are most commonly the Authors and Ringleaders of all Rebellions ; as they have alwaies proved, against the *French* especially ; And yet these men have been since very faithful to the *Arragonians*, by reason of their likenesse both in Temper and Manners.

In a word, there is nothing more Necessary for the making a Prince to reign happily, then that he thoroughly understand the Nature, Temper and Inclination of his Subjects. For, according as He finds these to be, so must He order his Government.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Germany.



Coming now to speak of such Nations as are Enemies to the King of *Spain*, to some of which notwithstanding He hath some Title; the *Germans* first offer themselves unto us; whom yet the King needs not fear, seeing that the House of *Austria* is the most powerful in all *Germany*; being now raised up to so great a height of Greatnesse and Power, by continual Marriages with great Princes, and Hereditary Successions, and great Alliances, as we see it at this day. For, *Maximilian* had the Provinces of the *Lower Germany* falling to him, by *Mary* his wife, who was daughter to *Charles* the last Duke of *Burgundy*: and *Philip*, *Maximilians* Son, became possessed of *Spain*, with all its Appurtenances, by the marriage of *Joan*, he daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*; in which Kingdomes his Son *Charles* succeeded. And in these our daies King *Philip*, the most worthy Son of so worthy a Father, hath had *Portugal* with all its Appurtenances, which certainly are very great, fallen to Him by the death of his Mother *Isabella*: from which very house is derived the Title of King of Both *Spains*.

Now we are to understand, that the house of *Austria* is in league with none, save only Catholick Princes; such as is the Duke of *Bavaria*, with the *German* Archbishops, & Bishops and some few others: and therefore it is very necessary, that these should still be more and more closely united to each other, not only in Religion, but also by Marriages into one anothers families, and other like ties and bonds, of Friendship: which as it is the Justest course that can be taken, so it is also the safest, and is much more firm and durable then any other whatsoever. But there must be all the care taken that may be, to sow continually the seeds of discord and dissention between the Marquess of *Brandenburg*, the Landgrave of *Hessen*, the Duke of *Saxony*, the Duke of *Brunswick*, the Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, and also the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and those other Petty Common-wealths in *Germany*: which may easily be effected by reason of those State Divisions, and Emulations that frequently trouble these Republics,

licks, and fill them with suspicions, and Jealousies of each other. And hence it comes to passe, that they never come in with their Aides to the Emperours, in any seasonable time; First, because they conceive the Emperours businesse, and design to be, to bring *Hungary* in subjection, not to the *Roman* Empire, but rather to the House of *Austria*; and then again, they are afraid lest the Emperour, when he is now grown to so great a height of Power, should endeavour to put a yoke upon their necks also, and keep them in subjection. And therefore they do acknowledge Him to be indeed the Head of their Union; but yet they will not yeeld Him any Homage; but themselves order matters as they see cause among themselves, both in reference to the abolishing of old *Laws*, and enacting New, as also in doing the like in matters of Religion: a sufficient example whereof we have both in *Norimberg*, *Spires*, *Strasbourg*, and *Frankford*.

Yet I shall here add, that this Dissension among the *German* Princes is in one respect Advantageous to the King of Spain; and in an other Prejudicial, as it usually proveth to be in reference to all Forreign Powers. For, the *Turk* hath already taken away *Bosnia*, *Croatia*, and *Hungary* from the House of *Austria*: and it is to be feared, that possibly he may some time or other force his way even into *Austria* it self also. And then, if *Germany* should find it self to suffer thus, under the Protection of this House; possibly they may reject it, and elect some Heretick to be their Emperour: which certainly would prove to be the cause of many Greater Mischeifs. And therefore I conceive the King of Spain ought to labour as much as in him lies, to bring either the Emperour himself, or else his brother *Maximilian*, to enter into a League with the Duke of *Transylvania*, or else with the *Muscovites*, and that they should joyn all their force and strength together, to ruin the *Turk*.

I would have the Emperour also to engage Himself faithfully both to the Protestant Princes, and Free Cities of *Germany*, and also to the Duke of *Bavaria*, that what places soever He shall take in, in his Wars, they shall be all reckoned as Parts added to the Empire, and not be accounted as Additions to his Own House only. Then again, I would have him, during the time of the War, to confer upon all such persons of Eminency, as shall be sent to his assistance by the Free Cities, Lands, and Lordships, and the like Gratuities; by this means to oblige them

them the more to His service, rather then to that of their own Native Country: in like manner as *Cæsar* engaged His Army even against *Rome* it self. But this must be the businesse only of some one of the House of *Austria*, that shall be a Person both of great Valour, and Wisdom; neither can any meaner man undertake it. And then, having conquered the *Turks*, He must next march with his Forces against *Germany*, calling in to his assistance some *Spaniards* also, and *Italians*. For, unlesse He do so, there is some reason to fear, that the King of Spain may receive some prejudice thereby. He must therefore take care, and to the same end deal both with the Emperour, and the Pope, that the Right of Election of the Emperour may be put into the hands of such only as are his Friends; such as are the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the Archduke; for otherwise, if it should so chance, as that the King of *France* should be elected Emperour, it would very much impede, and crosse all his Designs. But what course there might be taken so to prevail with the *Protestant* Party, as that they should elect no other for Emperour, but only the King of Spain, I shall be ready to enform the Kings Majestie himself, when He shall please to give me Audience touching these things: but I shall forbear to set any thing of This here down in writing.

If the King desire to make Himself Lord of *Germany*, He must first necessarily get Himself to be elected Emperour of *Germany*; and having brought this about, He must then, under a pretense of making War against the *Turk*, march into *Hungary*; and so He may upon a sudden fall upon the Protestants before they are aware, and while they dream not of any such thing; and by this means he may be so much before hand with the Imperial Cities, as that they shall not have any time to provide themselves to make any resistance against Him: which Course was practised by *Charles* the Fifth, with very good successe. And then, let Him bring in New Colonies, and make New Laws, and place *Italians* over them, for his Ministers of State; for the Clime will not bear the Temper of the Spaniard: neither can this thing be better ordered any other way.

But indeed, the *Hungarian* Affaires go very ill, and They there have very much need of Assistance: For, if *Vienna* should be taken, the *Turk* might presently march into *Friuli*, if he would.
Now,

Now, what Courses may be taken for the Prevention of this Mischief, I shall hereafter declare, when I shall come to speak of the *Turk*.

The constant Practise of the *Turk* hath been, in his Warres against the *Christians*, never to maintain any long War with any one Prince : but to set now upon one, and then upon another ; and to send some to invade one Country, and others to invade another, and so hath sometimes snatcht away a whole Kingdom at a time from them. And least, by being continually thus put to it, they should so become to be expert in the use of Armes ; He presently makes either an absolute Peace, or else agrees upon a Cessation of Armes with them, and then immediately falls aboard of some other, not giving them so much as any time to look about them, or to provide to make resistance against Him : and then, having taken some City, or some Strong Hold from them. He presently makes either a Peace, or a Truce with them, and so away again. By which means it comes to passe, that His Armies are all Old, Tried Souldiers ; but Ours are, for the greatest part, made up of such as are raw, and unexperienced in War. For, the *Turk* is continually at war with some or other ; but so have not any of the aforesaid Princes been. And hence it is, that He hath alwaies been of the gaining hand ; and that, either by taking in, and adding to His Empire some new places ; or else by establishing to himself, and making sure what He hath formerly gotten. But it is now time to return to our former discourse.

I say therefore again, that it behoves the King of *Spain* to take care, that His Friends be at Unity among themselves, but that his enemies, especially in *Germany*, be at variance and discord : and He must not let slip any Opportunity for the bringing of this about. And it would be a most excellent course, for the bringing down of the Hereticks courage, and taking them off their edge, if there should be erected in *Germany* Schools for *Philosophy*, and the *Mathematicks* ; that so by this means the Younger Heads might be busied, and taken up with these kind of Speculations, rather then spend their time in Heretical Studies. And I would have others of them to be employed in contriving of Engines for War, both by Land and Sea ; and in other Mechanical Operations : and let the choicest

Wits

Wits amongst them be invited, by large Salaries, to go into the West-Indies, and there to apply themselves to the study of *Astrology*. But there is an Admirable way of causing a separation betwixt them, which pleaseth me very much; and it is done two waies: the first is, if all desire and willingnesse of meeting one another, and laying their heads together to plot or design any thing be quite dashed in them: and this is to be done by fomenting what disgusts, and Jealousies there are amongst them, so that one of them shall not dare to tell his minde to another, or to trust any man with any of his secrets. And this was an Art that *Charles* the Great made use of; who also, besides His Ordinary Tribunals, set up a Secret Court of Justice in *Westphalia*, for the keeping of the *Westphalians* in Order, who, after they had received Baptism, lived very strangely nevertheless; and not without suspicion of being false to the Christian Faith. A second way is, by hindring them from ever being able to do any thing, that may be Prejudicial to the State: and this may be done, by seeing that there be no Affinities, Leagues, or other Correspondences contracted between the Principal, and most powerful Persons of that Nation; and Secondly, that no person that is, of any very Eminent Account amongst them, be suffered to live there, but that he be removed some whether else. And this course did *Charles* the Great take, to avoid the frequent Combustions that arose in *Saxony*, by sending away all the Nobility of that Province into *France*. Lastly, let him be sure to place in all their Councils, Colledges, and about all Magistrates, some of His Creatures, to serve him for Spies, and Informers.

CHAP. XXIV.

of France.



Seeing that there is no Christian Kingdome, that is more able to oppose, and put a stop to the growing of the *Spanish Monarchy*, then *France* is, (I speak here of such Kingdomes as are United, and lie compacted together all in a body) as being the greatest, richest, and most Populous in Christendome: for, it hath in it seven and twenty thousand Parish Churches in it, and feedeth about a hundred and fifty Millions of Soules; and is so fruitful by Nature, and so rich, through the care and industry of its Inhabitants, that it comes behind no other Country whatsoever: Adde hereunto, that It lies not far from Spain; and the Inhabitants thereof do naturally hate a Spaniard; and are besides excellent Souldiers, and have all but one Head over them, residing also in their own Country: all which Circumstances you shall not find to meet in any one Country besides: for some lye either very far off, as the *Turks*, and *English* do; or else are heartlesse, and unapt for War, as are the *Italians*; or else are divided among themselves, as the *Germans* are: All these things (I say) being considered, it will be needful that I should here give a more exact, and punctual account of the *French* then ordinary; wherein also I shall discover, what, and how great Errours we have of late years committed, in reference to them; that so for the future we may be the more wary, as to this Particular.

The *French Nation*, being descended from *Japhet*, by *Gomer*, by their strength, and the force of their Armes, and having also their Religion, and the Fates Propitious to them, have had very great Successes; in that under the Conduct of *Charles the Great*, and King *Pepin*, they arrived to so great a Monarchy, as they then had. And certainly all the other Princes of Christendom had at that time an eye upon the Kingdom of *France*: and if the *French* had but crushed the Impiety of the *Mahumetans*, when it was yet but in the Bud, they might easily have compassed the Monarchy

Monarchy of the whole World : and that so much the rather, by reason that their Rivals, the Spaniards were divided into Many several Kingdomes, and were besides held in Play with the *Moors*, who had invaded their Country ; so that at that time they were not at leisure to interrupt the *French*, or to take them off from their Designs : as the *French* at this day hinder Them in theirs. But for as much as the *French* have not the skill of carrying a Moderate Hand in Government over such Forraigners as are under their Subjection, but are too Impatient, and Indiscreet; they could never yet attain to so great a height of Power. For they are apt to arrogate too much to themselves; & shewing no gravity at all, they permit their Subjects to do what they please; and so sometimes they use them too cruelly, and sometimes again too gently ; having no regard at all to their own defects, and weaknesses. And hence it hath come to passe, that though they have gotten many things abroad, yet they have not been able to keep any of them. For, in One evening, they lost all *Sicily* : and almost in as short a time, the Kingdom of *Naples* too, together with the Duchy of *Millan* : and for no other reason, but only because that they knew not how, through want of Prudence in Governing, to oblige their Subjects to them by the Love of the Publick Good : nor yet took any care to draw in others to put themselves under their Protection. For, when the people once perceaved, that there would be very litle or no difference to them, in respect of their Liberty, whether they served the *French*, or the *Spaniards*, they would not vouchsafe so much as to draw a Sword in their behalf. And for the very same reason did the King of *France*, and the Duke of *Millan* several times lose their Dominion over the *Genois*. We may add hereto, in reference to the *French*, the Discord that was betwixt the Sons of *Charles* the Great ; because that one of them would be King of *Italy*, another of *Germany*, and a third of *France* : and likewise the weaknesse of the *French* Nobility , who would needs all be free Princes, and live of themselves without any Head : such as are the Duke of *Burgundy* , the Earl of *Flanders*, the Duke of *Bretaigne* , of the *Delphinat*, of *Savoy*, the Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, with diverse others ; each of which would needs be an Absolute Prince of himself, So that as well for these Reasons, and because of their being dvided in their *Religion*, and also as well by *Fate*, as by *God* himself,

and besides, by not laying hold upon Occasion, when it was offered, they seem to be excluded from ever attaining to the Universal Monarchy of the whole World. And therefore the Majesty of the Universal Dominion over all seemes rather to incline toward the Spaniards, both because Fate it self seemes to have destined the same unto Them; as also; because it seemes, in some sort, to be their Due, by reason of their Patience, and Discretion.

But because that the very Situation of the Country, the manner of their Armes in War, and the natural Enmity that there is betwixt the *French* and the Spaniards, seem to require that *France* should be continually in War with *Spain*, and should be still interrupting their Glorious Proceedings; like as also when it was in a flourishing state under *Charles* the Fifth, it was hindred by *Francis* King of *France*; and as it may also at this day be troubled by the Hereticks of *France*, and their King *Henry* the Fourth, who is a Valiant, and Warlike Person; these things, I say, being considered, it nearly concerns the King of Spain seriously to consider the state of his own Affaires, and withal to weigh the Power of *France*; and to be sure, when any fit Opportunity is offered, to fall upon them with all his might, & to set upon them on that part where they are Weakest, that so that other part, where they are more powerful, may sink of it self. Seeing therefore that they are weak, not in Armes, but in Wisdom, and Brain; He ought to manage his War against them accordingly. And therefore, first of all, he must be sure to lay hold on Fortune, and Opportunity, whensoever they offer themselves; as evidently appears by the example of that good Fortune, that delivered the aforementioned King *Francis*, and *Germany* into the hands, and power of *Charles* the Fifth; by which means, had he pursued that Opportunity, he might have crushed all the Princes that were his Competitors; for he ought immediately to have bent his whole strength against *France*, and by the assistance of the *Germans* to have repressed, and curbed the Insolency of the *French*. I say, by the assistance of the *Germans*: for they, as being the more Fierce Nation of the two, have alwaies been as an Antidote against the Fierceneesse of the *French*. And hence it is, that the *Franconians*, *Normans*, *Swedes*, *Gotlanders*, *Danes*, and other Northern Forraign Nations, have alwaies, in a manner, been too hard for the *French*, that lye not so Northerly

as they. And therefore, as I said *Charles* the Fifth ought immediately, with an Army of *Germans*, to have set upon *France*. And after that, he should have put Guards of Spaniards into all their Castles, and strong Holds, and should have placed Italians in all their Courts of Judicature, and have appointed them to regulate their Lawes; and then should either have brought *France* wholly under his own Power, and Obedience; or else should have put it into the hands of some Petty Princes, to be governed by them; and so should presently have declared Himself *Head of the Christian World*.

But he, instead of doing thus, had recourse to that Vain, uselesse course of securing himself, by marriage; chusing rather to winne over to him his Rivall Neighbour by Fair meanes; which is never to be done, but with those that are farther off; and which is especially to be declined, when a Prince hath so Potent Neighbours that are his Antagonists for an Empire. For, the *French* had first a design of making themselves Universal Monarchs of the World, before the Spaniards had any such thought; whom the *French* afterwards envied, when they found them aspiring that way.

A second Opportunity of keeping *France* under in such sort, as that It should not have been able to have opposed, or hindered the growing Potency of the Spaniard, was offered to his Son, *Philip*, had he but had the skill to have laid hold of it, and to have made the right use of it. For, *Henry* the III. of *France* being slain by a certain *Dominican* Frier, under pretense of his favouring those of the *Religion*; and the whole Kingdom of *France* being now divided into two Factions, namely, the *Catholicks* and the *Huguenots*; and many Governours of Provinces having at that time the said Provinces at their Devotion, as, for example, *Montmorency* had that of *Languedoc*, and *Espernon*, and others, had others: the Line of *Valois* being now quite extinct, and there being a great Controversy started amongst them, whether it were best for them to think of choosing any New King of some other House, or not: and lastly, *Henry* of *Navarre* being, by reason of his being an Heretick, hated by the Catholick Party; King *Philip* had at that time five Opportunities offered him: either of which had He but laid hold of, it would have been sufficient to have made him Master of *France*, or at least to have weakned the power of it very much

much; not to say any thing what might have been done, when all of them concurred, and met together.

And yet to say truth, it lay not in his power at that time to effect this; for he saw, that if he should fall upon this design in an open way of making war upon them, it would have been necessary for Him then to have had good store of Souldiers to have brought into the Feild; (which at that time He had not,) to be able to divide, and distract all the Nobles of that Kingdome, and to set them together by the ears. And therefore he should first of all have dealt under hand either with the Duke of *Guise*, or of *Maine*, or with some other of the most Powerful amongst them, and have promised to make Him King, and besides to make him His Son in Law: and at the same time to give hopes also to all the rest of the Nobility, that they should every man of them be made the Proprietary, and Absolute Lord of their several Provinces; as that *Montmorency* should have *Languedoc* confirmed to Him, *Espernon* should have *Provence*; and every one of them should have had a promise made him of such Lordships as they liked best; and all of these He should also have furnished with mony, that they might have been the better enabled to make resistance against *Henry of Navarre*. He ought also to have entred into a League with the Pope, and the rest of the Catholick Princes; that so joyning all their forces together, they might all at once have set upon *Henry of Navarre*, who was of a different Religion from them.

And then besides all this, He ought to have obliged to him the hearts of all the *French* Bishops, and Preachers, by conferring upon them large Dignities, and Preferments. And when all these things had been thus ordered, then either the King himself in person, or else, if He should not think that fit, His Son, or the Duke of *Parma* should presently have invaded *France* with an Army of at least a Hundred Thousand men, consisting of *Germans*, *Italians*, and *Spaniards*; and He should also immediately have sent out some to make Excursions into *France*, by the way of the Duke of *Savoy*s Country, and by *Navarre*, and *Picardy*.

And all these things should have been, with all care and diligence, put into Execution: which if they had, He had then certainly done his businesse, and had either added *France* to his other Dominions, or else might have Canton'd it out into many small

small Baronies and Republicks, as *Germany* is; and so he should have been ever after secure from their being able to do Him any hurt.

But King *Philip* was not nimble enough in his businesse; and besides, He was deluded by the French Nobles, who almost all went over to the King of *Navarre*: whereas, had He been but as quick as He should have been, all this had never happened. For this is the usual Course of the World, that every man looks first of all to his Own Interest, and then to that of the publick; and accordingly men use to bestir themselves in troublesome times.

But here, in this case, where every one of them perceived, that the good of the Publick did consist in the welfare of each Particular person, and so on the Contrary; they then presently made choise of that which they conceived would be for the Publick Good. And so, although those *French* Nobles, being at the first by Mony, and fair Promises, wrought over to favour the King of Spain, and so were brought to enter into Action in order thereunto; yet when upon better Consideration they found at last that in case the Crown of France should passe away to another, or that the Kingdom should be parcell'd out into small Dominions, and Republicks, the losse would at length redound to each of them in particular, whiles that the King of Spain might then with ease reduce them one by one, and bring them under his Obedience; seeing that they were so divided, as that they could not in any convenient time joyn their strengths together to make any opposition against him: and besides, knowing that France it self, which had been hitherto so much honoured by all other Nations, would now come to be despised by them; and that all hopes of ever attaining to the Crown would now be quite cut off from them; and, that they should afterwards find, that the Spaniards would but laugh at them for all their pains; they conceived it to be the safer, and more advantageous Course for themselves, to adhere to the King of *Navarre*, and receive him for their Prince. Which certainly when at the first, whiles they were inveigled, and blinded by the false hopes of the Spaniards Mony, they had not so well and thoroughly considered, as They did afterwards, when they had once weighed in their minds what the Event was like to be, and also saw with their eyes what the Kings Proceedings were; They then

then at length began to elude Art with Art. Besides, the French, perceiving also how great Inconveniences would arise, by maintaining a War with the Spaniard, did therefore the more willingly and chearfully proceed to the election of a New King, because that they were perswaded, that when a King was once chosen, those evils would then be removed, which yet at the first they made little account of.

But the King of Spain committed yet another Errour in this Point, in that by his Slownesse He gave the King of *Navarre* time to make over to his Party the Princes of *Italy*, and the Pope, only by making them believe, that He intended to abjure the Protestant Religion, and turn Catholick: besides, that those Princes did likewise consider, that when *France* was once subdued by the *Spaniards*, whom they knew very well to gape earnestly after an Universal Monarchy, their Own Turnes would probably have been next to have been swallowed up by them. This very Slownesse of his was the reason why the Spaniard gained the lesse, and was also the longer held in expectation; and besides, by gaping in this manner after what belonged to others, became hated by all: So true is that Common Saying; namely, *That there is no place Inexpugnable, into which an Asse, laden with Gold, can but get in.* But then this is also to be added to that Saying; namely, that *That Golden Asse, or that Asse laden with Gold, must have many Horses laden with Iron to come after it:* that so while the Citizens are all busied in weighing, and telling out their Mony, Thou mayest in the mean time make use of thy *Iron* in the subduing, and taking in of that Place.

To this we may adde, that the *Spanish* Commanders, as well as the *French*, plaid booty, as we say; neither of them fighting for the Victory, but for Gain onely. And the reason of this was, because that neither the King himself, nor his Son were present in person in the Army. And besides the Duke of *Parma* durst not at first, in the beginning of the War, hazard all in a Battel, without Commands from the King; by which means the King of *Navarre* had time given him to gain over to him the French Nobility, (whom the Spaniard had before wrought over by his Mony to His side,) only by an Opinion they had conceived of his Military Valour. And in this He imitated those other most Valiant Princes, who, neglecting the Common People, made it their only businesse, to oblige the Nobles to them only:
Which

Which hath been the Ancient Custome with the *Polonians*, *Persians*, and *French*. And because, that the Nobles think it a thing too much below them, to march with Foot Souldiers; hence it is, that these very Nations have alwaies been very strong in *Horse*; but have still been but weak in *Foot*.

And seeing the businesse is come to this passe, that the King of *France* hath now won to himself the Affections both of his Subjects, the *French*, and of the Pope also; and hath thereby got himself more Renown, then if he had beaten the King of *Spain* himself; it is now to be feared, that He may sometime or other attempt to take in some part of *Spain* also. For, He is of a Turbulent, Unquiet Spirit, neither can the *French* hold, while they have well settled a Country that they have newly taken in; but they must on still, and fall upon some other; and this the King of *France* must the rather do, because that being out of Mony, He is forced to forrage abroad, and take from others, that he may have to pay his own men. And therefore it will be necessary that the King of *Spain* take care that the Frontiers of *Spain*, and the Duchy of *Millan* also be well guarded, and fortified; and also, that he carefully observe these following Rules. The first whereof is, that he enter into a League with the *French*, who are his Competitors: and the Second is, that He hinder the coming of any Assistance to him either from *England*, or from *Italy*: both which things may be effected one and the same way; namely, if He do but perswade the Pope, that the King of *France* hath a purpose of Assisting the Hereticks; and that, should he but once come into *Italy*, he would scatter abroad the Poyson of his Heresie every where; and, that *Tuscany*, and the *Venetian* Territories will first be the Seat of the War, and afterwards will be his Prey. Let the King of *Spain* therefore deal with the Pope, that He would interdict the King of *France* the contracting of any League, or Friendship, either with the Queen of *England*, or with any other of the Hereticks; such as are the *Genevians*, *Helvetians*, and *Rhetians*, or *Grisons*: for, these would be able to assist him very much. Let the Pope also make Him swear, that He will go to the *Holy Land*, and there joyn with the *Italians* in the Defence of the Christian Faith. But the best course of all would be, that the Nobility of *France* and of *Italy* should all joyn together, and should be sent in an Expedition against *Greece*; and that there should also be another

another Association made betwixt the Princes of the House of *Austria*, against the Hereticks. For, if that the Christian Princes were but thus dispersed, and kept at a distance one from another, the Kingdom of *Naples*, together with that of *Spain*, and the Duchy of *Millan* also, would have none to stand in fear of, but would be secure on all sides: and besides, the King of *Spain* might in the mean time bethink himself what waies were the best to be taken for the reducing of the *Netherlands*; over whom were he but once Conquerour, the forenamed Princes would be so much astonished at the report of that his Victory, and of his Military Strength, that they would never dare to attempt any thing against Him; no, though they should return home Lords of all *Asia*. For, although *Pompey* was a Conquerour in *Asia*; yet he was not able to stand against *Cesar*, that had now subdued the *Belgick* Provinces. For, the *Belgians*, by reason of their Fiercenesse in War, put *Cesar* much more to it to subdue them, then those of *Asia* did *Pompey*, who was for this reason also inferiour to *Cesar* in Power.

Now in case that *Henry* the Fourth should die, as he begins now to be an old man, and hath neither Successor, nor Wife; or if he should marry, and should leave a Son behind him, yet probably he would be under Age; and so *Conde* would either be the next Heir to the Crown, or else would at least have the Administration of the Government put into his hands, during the Minority of the Prince; whose Ancestors, having alwaies been the Leaders, and indeed the stirrers up of the Hereticks of *France* in all their Wars, were the Authors of shedding so much Catholick blood: I say, should things come to this passe, it would then concern the King of *Spain* to lay hold on that Opportunity, in proposing to the Consideration of the Catholicks of *France*, whether they thought would be the better course, to make choyce of *Conde*, or else of some Catholick to be their King; remembring that He is the Son of that Father, that acted so much Cruelty upon the Catholicks, which this Prince suckt in with his Nurses Milk.

The King of *Spain* must also so order the matter, as that if He cannot bring it about, that the Kingdome of *France* should be divided in Judgment upon this particular, he must then deal with them, that it may be conferred upon some one that they shall pitch upon, by way of *Election*. Or else, in the last place, He must

must speedily have recourse to the Arts before set down : which King *Philip* failed in before. And this manner of Electing a King, upon condition that he be a Catholick, would very much please the *Italians* ; and the Catholick Princes of *France* also would very willingly assent thereto ; because that every one of them would have some hope hereby of attaining to the Crown himself. And if this should once come to passe, it would prove a very great Weakening to the Kingdom of *France* : for, during the Vacancy of the Crown, there must needs arise very great, and long Dissentions amongst them ; and, possibly, the King of *Spain* also, being called in by some or other of the Princes, might come to have a finger in the businesse.

Now for as much as Elective Kings are, for the most part, not much given to trouble themselves about the enlarging the Bounds of their Kingdome ; because that they know very well, that their Sons are not their Successours ; therefore neither will they expose themselves to danger upon the Account of another mans Interest. And this is the onely reason, why the Emperours of *Germany* never trouble themselves about the enlarging of their Empire ; as neither do the Kings of *Poland*, unless they chance to be Persons of a high, Warlick Spirit, as King *Steven* was, surnamed *Battorius* ; and *Sigismund* ; both which maintained Wars with the *Moscovites*, *Tartarians*, and others, about the Principality of *Prussia*, and some other Territories ; because they hoped, that their Sons should at least have succeeded them in those. This Course is of very good use to a Prince, for the acquiring of Military Glory, and through the Multitude of Victories, and the affection of his Souldiers, for the bringing his own Country under his subjection : which Course, I before shewed, was to be taken by the Emperour of *Germany*, according to the Example of *Julius Caesar*. Yet notwithstanding, this piece of Craft being well understood by the French, hath been the cause, that they have now laid aside all desires of enlarging their Territories, meerly to avoid that Suspition. And This Suspition is the reason why the *Venetians* do not send Commanders of their Own into their Wars, but rather chuse to make use of Forraign Commanders, whom a Little Money contents well enough for their Pay. For, as to this particular, it was no small hazard which they heretofore run, under *Carmagnola*, and *Ludovicus Ursinus*. And *Francis Sforza*, who was but a Mercenary Souldier under

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under the State of *Venice*, returning home a Conquerour, made himself Duke of *Milan*. For this very cause the *Romans* heretofore hated the *Tarquins*, their Kings, who till that time had alwaies been *Elective*: and this very thing also was the Ruine of the Duke of the *Athenians*, that was Elected at *Florence*.

Neither are Opportunities at this time wanting of setting the French together by the ears among themselves: for although their Peace is not at this time at all disturbed by any Forraign Enemies; yet they being naturally of an Impatient, Unquiet spirit, are alwaies rising up one against another, although it be perhaps but upon their quarrel about the Heresie of the *Calvinists*, and I know not what *New Gospel*; which wheresoever it is preached, it bringeth, not Joy, but Mourning; not Peace, but horrid Wars; and filleth the Minds of Men, not with Good Will, but with rage and Madnesse. This Mischief therefore ought to be taken in due time, and have a stop put to it: for, this Contagion hath already infected above two hundred thousand persons in France. For, if so be it should spread further, and should infect the Nobility also, and Peers of the Kingdom, it would be much to be feared, that there would never be any end of the Troubles of France: which is now the Condition of *Germany*, by means of the Dukes of *Saxony*, *Hessen*, and others. For, as we see, such Kingdomes as abound with Nobles, are made in a manner Immortal; as we may evidently perceive by the examples of *France* and *Persia*. For, when France was heretofore in a manner all subdued, and brought in subjection by the King of England; yet it was afterwards, through the Industry, and by the endeavours of the Nobility and Gentry, wholly asserted & restored again to its first, Natural Lord. And so likewise the Kingdome of *Persia*, which is one while annoyed by the *Tartarians*, and again another while by the *Saracens*; is yet so well defended by the *Persian Nobility*, as that It is kept from falling under either of their Power, and Obedience. But yet, on the contrary side again, the very same Kingdomes are by reason of their Nobility also obnoxious to most unavoidable and miserable Calamities; seeing they are able at any time either to assist, or protect all such, as endeavour to introduce any Innovations, either in the State, or Religion.

CHAP. XXV.

Of England, Scotland, and Ireland.



Although the *English* seem the least of all to affect an *Universal Monarchy*; yet notwithstanding they have been a very great hinderance to the King of Spains designs that way: several examples whereof may be gathered from the proceedings of the aforesaid Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, who appeared both against the Catholick King, in the Low-Countries, and against the most Christian King in France, by fomenting the corrupt Humours in the subjects of both these Princes, and in assisting the Hereticks both with her Counsels, and Forces. For they possesse an Island that is excellently well furnished both with Shipping, and Souldiers; and by this means they rob the King of *Spain* in all places in the North wheresoever he hath any thing; and also wander out abroad, as far as to the *New World*; where, although by reason of the Fortifications made upon the Sea Coast, they cannot lay the foundation of any Kingdome, yet do they do the Spaniards no small harme there. For, that same famous Englishman, Captain *Drake*, following the example of *Magellan*, who had done the same before him, sailed round about the whole World more then once; and it is not impossible, but that the Kingdom of *Bacalaos*, which lies somewhat near to the English, and is very convenient for them, by reason of the temperatenesse of the Air, may be some time or other seized upon by them. However it is most certain, that if the King of *Spain* could but once make himself Master of *England*, and the *Low-Countries*, He would quickly get to be sole Monarch of all *Europe*, and of the greatest part of the *New World*. But, seeing that He is not able to reduce this Island under His Obedience, because that It is so exceeding strong; by reason both of its Situation, and multitude of Inhabitants, who Naturally hate the Spaniard and are quite different from them both in their Manners, and also their Religion; it will concern Him therefore to defend himself as well as he

can, and to fortifie and set strong Guards upon all such places of His Dominions, as lye open to their Incurfions; least otherwise the English should chance to seize upon them. And such are the Haven *Cornugna*, and all the Sea Coast of *Galicia*, *Leon*, *Biscay*, and all the Kingdomes that lie in the other Hemisphere; as shall be shewed hereafter. But this he must make his cheifest businesse, namely, to weaken the Power of the English: for the effecting of which design, it would be sufficient, if He could but bring it about, that the *Hollander*, and the *Freezlander* should with their Fleets fall upon the *English* Forces at Sea, as I shall by and by make it plainly appear.

But seeing He is so far from doing this, that his own Navies are very often damaged by the English ships, the only Remedy that is left him is, to provide himself of some Vast Fleets of ships which should lie at *Cornugna*, and *Lisbon*, that when ever the Spanish Fleet shall return from the *Indies*, they may serve as convoys to It, and may bring it home safely: or else they may be sent forth either against *Ireland*, or *England*, and so may divert them from lying in wait for, and infesting of the *Spanish* Navies. And because the King of *Spain* is to be Lord of the Seas, it is very necessary that He build himself many Wooden Cities, that is to say, great Navies, for the securing of His Treasure that he recieves out of the *New World*.

It would also be a very good course for him to hire those that are of the greatest strength among the *Hollanders*, though it cost him a Million of mony, to guard such Fleets of his, as are to passe to and fro in the Northern Seas; and to deal in the like manner with such Nations, as are better skilled in Nautical affaires, then the *English* themselves are: as namely the *Danzickers*, by means of the King of *Poland*, who is allied to the house of *Austria*; likewise with the *Gutlanders*, *Swedes*, *Finlanders*, and the rest that are of *Scandinavia*, *Denmark*, *Pomerania*, and *Borussia*, procuring them to declare against the *English*, and either to set upon some of their Islands, or else to invade *England* it self, that so they may divert them from falling upon the Spanish Fleets; or else, if the King shall think it better, to set upon the English Navy it self. If, I say, He would but be at so great a charge, as to hire the said Nations to fall upon the English, and would besides but give them all the Booties that they should take from the English, He might compasse all his desires: and besides,

besides, the seeds of such a Feude once sown, would spread far and near, and would never be killed and choaked again. And therefore I conceive, that Mony alone would be able to set these People at Variance, and make them fall foul one upon the other.

And it is certain, that *England* stands in fear of no other Nations so much, as of those above named: because they are both more fierce, and more Populous Nations, and also more powerful at Sea, then the *English* themselves are. For, *Spain* cannot it self make any considerable opposition against the *English*, unlesse it be by making use of some such Artifice; seeing that they are better acquainted with those Northern Seas, then the *Spanish* are. And then, *England* is an Island whose Inhabitants are both very Numerous, and they are also a diligent and subtle People; and it is besides very strongly fortified both by Sea and Land, and withall a deadly enemy to *Spain*, partly by reason of their different Religions, and partly because the *English* claime a kind of Right to that Crown, by reason of the *Castilian* Line, which is derived by the House of *LANCASTER*; besides, diverse of the former Kings of *England* of the Family of *York*, and others, have been allied to *Spain*.

Now as concerning the weakning of the *English*, there can no better way possibly be found out, then by causing Divisions, and Dissentions among themselves, and by continually keeping up the same; which will quickly furnish the Spaniard with better, and more advantageous Opportunities. And as for the Religion of that People, it is that of *Calvin*; though very much Moderated, and not so rigid, and austere as it is at *Geneva*: which yet cannot so easily be extinguished and rooted out there, unlesse there were some certain Schooles set up in *Flanders*, (with which People the *English* have very great commerce) by means of which there should be scattered abroad the Seeds of Schisme and Divisions in the Natural Sciences; as namely, betwixt the *Stoicks*, *Peripateticks*, and *Telefians*; by which the Errors of the *Calvinists* might be made manifest. For, the truth of it is, That Sect is Diametrically contrary to the Rules of Policy: for, they teach, that whether a Man do well, or ill, he doth all by Divine Impulsion; which *Plato* Demonstrates, against *Homer*, to be opposite to all Sounder Policy; which sayes, that every Man hath Free Liberty of Will, either to do Well,

Well, or Ill; so that it is in our own Power, either to observe, or not observe what is commanded us; and from hence we are to expect either our Rewards, or Punishments; according as I have most evidently demonstrated in my *Dialogue touching Policy*, where I have discoursed of this Point, though but briefly, and without any flourish of Language; which They, since they have become Hereticks, are grown somewhat subtle in: and yet, being of a Nature that is still desirous of Novelties, and Change, they are easily wrought over to any thing.

As concerning their Dominions, and Private Estates, the English are divided, and live in several Countries: whence some time or other the Spaniard may easily light upon some convenient Opportunity of advantage against them. For the King of *Englands* Dominion is divided into *Ireland*, and *England*; which together with *Scotland*, maketh up the Isle of Great *Brittain*. Now *Scotland* it self hath also many small Islands belonging to it, which are called the *Orcades*. And hence it is, that the Isle of Great *Brittain* had alwaies two Kings reigning over it: namely, one of them was King of *England*; and the other, of *Scotland*; who, by reason of their lying so near to each other, were in a manner continually at wars, and invading one anothers Territories; for their Kingdomes are severed only by a little small River, and some few hills. But now the King of Scots hovers, as it were, at this time over *England*, not only by reason of his Neighbourhood to it, but also because of His Right, of Succession; for His Mother was Niece to King *Henry* the Eighth, who was Father to Queen *Elizabeth* that now reigneth; and, if we should confesse the truth, there is none so near in blood to the Crown of *England*, as He is. And therefore the time now draweth on, that after the death of the said Queen *Elizabeth*, who is now very old, the Kingdom of *England* must fall into the hands of their Ancient and continuall Rivals, the Scots.

We may here add, that the Peers of the Land, who when they are assembled together in a Body, are called in their Language the Parliament, carry a great sway with them, and have very great Power: in so much that they seem to desire to set up an *Oligarchy*, or an *Aristocratical* State, according to the example shewed them by the *Netherlanders*. For, all *Northern* Nations are Naturally impatient of Monarchy, or Absolute Power

er in Princes; and the Kings of *England* were alwaies kept under by the Parliament; till that now of later times under pretext of introducing a New Religion, they have taken upon them to exercise a more absolute power over their Subjects. But in Antient Times the whole Kingdom of *England* was divided into four lesser Kingdoms; as *Spain* also hath been anciently distributed both into many several Kingdomes; both of which Countries did afterwards grow into two entire Kingdomes: although it cannot be denied, but that the Power of the Kings of *England* was never so great as that of the Kings of *Spain*.

My opinion is therefore, that the King of *Spain* should do well to employ under hand some certain Merchants of *Florence*, that are wise and subtle persons, and that traffick at *Antwerp*, who (because they are not so much hated by the English, as the Spaniards are) should treat with some such of the English as are some way or other descended from some of the former Kings of *England*, and should promise each of them severally (no one of them knowing any thing what is said to the other) all the possible aides that can be from *Spain*, for the restoring of them to their Inheritances, Legally descending down to them from their Ancestours; and undertake to effect this for them, if not as to the whole Kingdome, yet at least to some part of it: requiring them to engage themselves to nothing else, (so to give a colour to the businesse) save only that they shall not joyn their forces, and assist the English in setting upon the Spanish Fleet at its return from the *West Indies*. For by this meanes each of them being puffed up with hope, will presently fall to question the King of Scots his Title to the English Crown, and will endeavour to oppose him in it. Let him also send privately to King *James* of *Scotland*, and promise him, that He will assist him to the utmost of his Power in his getting possession of the Kingdom of *England*, upon this condition; viz, that He shall either restore there again the Catholick Religion; for the love whereof, His Mother, *Mary Stuart*, Queen of Scots refused not to spend her dearest blood, and even to lay down her Life too; or at least, that he shall not annoy, or any way disturbe the said Spanish Fleet.

But then again on the other side, let him under hand labour with the English Peers, and the chiefeest of the Parliament, and egge them on to endeavour to reduce *England* into the
Form

Form of a *Republick*: withal assuring them, that the King of *Scots*, when he shall have once gotten into the English Throne, must needs prove a cruel Prince to them, as having alwaies about him a deep remembrance, how injuriously the English have heretofore dealt with the Scots. Moreover, let Him endeavour to strike a terrour into *Queen Elizabeths* friends, by often putting into their heads, that they will find, that King *James* will revenge his Mothers blood upon *Queen Elizabeths* friends, seeing that She is like to leave behind her None of Her Own blood upon whom He might take revenge; especially seeing that His Mother, *Queen Mary*, when she was now to dye, seriously commended unto Him the care of the Catholick Religion, and the Revenge of Her Blood.

The English Bishops are also to be exasperated, and put into Fears and Jealousies, by telling them, that the King of Scots turned Calvinist out of hope, and desire of the English Crown, and being also forced to do so by his Heretical Barons: but that, when He shall once be quietly settled in the English Throne; He will then quickly restore the Former Religion; for as much as, not onely His deceased Mother, but even the King of France also have both of them very earnestly commended the same unto Him. By which means it must necessarily follow, that the seeds of a continual War betwixt England and Scotland will be sown; in so much that neither Kingdome shall have any leisure to work any disturbance to the *Spanish* Affaires. Or else by buzzing into their ears, that in case King *James* should be posselt of this Kingdom, He will however be a Friend of Spain: that the whole Island would be divided into many Dominions, or else that it would come to be an Elective Kingdom; (by which means the King of it will be the lesse careful of making himself Master of other Countries, and of adding them to the English Crown; neither indeed, though he should never so much desire it, would he ever be able to do so, as I have before shewed, where I speak of *France*:) or else, that this Country of England will be reduced into the Form of a Common Wealth, which will perpetually be at feude with Scotland; and that all Actions It shall undertake, will be long in bringing to effect, and so It will be able to do the lesse harm to Spain.

The Spirits of the English Catholicks also are to be rouzed up, and, as it were, awakened from sleep, and encouraged to
Action:

Action: for by this means, so soon as ever the Throne shall be vacant, the King of Spain shall come into England, under Presence of assisting them. Let Him also deal with those English Nobles, who are possessed of some certain circumjacent Islands lying about England, that they should exercise an Absolute and full Jurisdiction, each of them in their several places, and have Peculiar Courts of Justice of their own, distinct from those of England: which very thing we read to have been Anciently done by them.

The Chief of the *Irish* Nobility also are to be dealt with, that, as soon as they hear of the Queens death, they should new model *Ireland* either into the Form of a Republick, or else should make it a Kingdom of it self, throwing off all Obedience to the English; withal promising aides to each of them in particular: and that so much the rather, because that in that Kingdome, or Island, the Catholicks, and especially the Friers that are of the Order of *S. Francis*, are very greatly esteemed and beloved. There is also much greater agreement and correspondence betwixt the *Spaniard* and the *Irish*, then betwixt them and the *English*; whether it be by reason of the Similitude of their Manners, or else by reason of the Clime, and the nearnesse of these two Countries one to the other. There are also in *Ireland* many Vagabond persons, and such as have fled their Countries, being men that are most impatient of Government; and yet are good Catholicks, and such as may be able to do good service in this kind, as hath been shewed already. But this sort of Men is not very rare to be found, either in England, or Scotland also.

These, and the like Preparations may be made before hand; that, so soon as ever Queen *Elizabeth* is dead, they may be immediately put into Execution. For, there is no man but knowes what horrid Civil Wars, and what strange Alterations, and Turns have happened several times in *England*. So that, what I have here proposed, ought not to appear to any man, as things either New, or Impossible.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of Poland, Muscovia, and Transylvania.



He Kingdom of Poland is in Our time the most Potent of all the Northern Kingdomes; insomuch that, if it were not so divided in it self, about Points of Religion, as it is; and were withal an *Hereditary Kingdom*, and had a Prince that were a Native, and were not Elected out of some Forraign Nation, as their custome is; it would prove a sufficient Terrour to the *Great Turk*; especially, if the Great Duke of *Muscovia* were but joyned with them. But the Nobility of that Nation, in whose Power the Election of the King is, are very much afraid of the King's Power; and for that reason They keep as hard a hand over Him, as possibly they can. The King of *Spain* therefore must endeavour as much as lies in Him, that no King be elected there, but such a one as is of the Catholick Religion; which course hath hitherto been observed amongst them. For, should they chuse themselves a King that were of any other Religion, He would then very easily be induced to countenance, by his Authority, the Northern Hereticks; who do all agree in these two Points, (although they differ among themselves almost in all the rest,) namely, that the Pope is *Antichrist*; and, that the Arch-Dukes of *Austria* are all of them such as fight for *Antichrist*. And therefore, upon any the least Occasion that could be, they would be apt to joyn their forces together against both the Pope, and the Emperour, their Neighbour; had they but any Powerful Prince to head them, and to be their General: which Charge none is so able to undertake, and go through with, as the King of *Poland* is. For, the King of *Denmark* is but a weak Prince; and the King of *Sweden* lies too far off; and besides, is severed from *Germany* by the Sea.

The King of Spain must then in the next place by all meanes endeavour,

endeavour, that one of the House of *Austria* may be advanced to the Crown of *Poland*: or at least such a one as is some way or other allied to the House of *Austria*; as the now King of *Poland* is. And lastly, he must be such a one, as shall alwaies make head against the Turk, and that should enter into an Association with the *Muscovites*, who together should to their utmost endeavour, as much as in them lies, the utter Ruine, and Extirpation of the *Turks*.

He must also make choyce of some of the Wisest, and most Eminent persons of his Kingdom, whom He shall send as Embassadors to *Cracovia*, and who by their presence may adde Authority, and Weight to the Spanish Union, in the Esteem of the Electors of *Poland*: and that may obtain of them, that in case the King of Spain should have more Sons then one, that then They would Elect one of the Younger of them to be their King: for certainly, were any of the King of Spain's Sons chosen King of *Poland*, He would never be so simple, and foolish, as to take upon him to govern the Kingdome of *Poland* according to his Own Will and pleasure; as the King of *France's* Son endeavoured to do.

Besides, He must deal with the People of *Scandia*; and the *Dantzickers*, by the means of the King of *Poland*, who now is King of *Swetland* also, that they would joyn together, and send out a Fleet against the *English*; as hath been said before. For by taking this course, the Kings expense will not be half so great, as his Gains will be. He must also labour that the Prince of *Transylvania* may in like manner enter into a league with the *Polanders*; or else, that either He, or the great Duke of *Muscovia* may be chosen King of *Poland*. For, seeing that these two Nations are not only Neighbours to the *Turks*, but do also naturally hate them, they might easily be able to stop his proceedings. And I am verily perswaded, that among all the Northern Nations there is not any so fit, and able to oppose the Turk, as is the *Muscovite*; who, would but the *Tartarians*, and the *Polanders* joyn with him, might be able to make Incursions into the *Turks* Dominions, and march up even to the very Walls of *Constantinople*. Neither indeed hath *Macedonia*, or *Moldavia*, or *Bulgaria*, or *Thrace* ever suffered so much losse by any Nation, as by the *Muscovites*.

And if there were an Association contracted betwixt the King of Spain and the *Muscovite*, either by Marriage, or else by the nearer Tie of Religion, brought about there, by the Industry of the *Jesuites*; it must needs prove a very advantageous businesse to Him: because that *Spanish Gold* is, among these Northern Nations, of greater Estimation, and Account, then any thing else in the world. And then must the King of Spain be very careful, that, as soon as ever he finds he hath wrought up the affections of these people to a Willingnesse to do him any service, He set them upon some Notable Expedition or other, while they are now ready for it, and before they begin to cool again, and repent themselves of their forwardnesse: For, *Delay* hath alwaies been the Ruine of the King of Spain's Affaires; by reason that his Confederates, through his slownesse in putting them in execution, have alwaies had time enough to smell out the subtilty of His Designs; and by this means it comes to passe, that he commonly loses his labour, and is at charge to no purpose.

The *Bohemians* also might be hired by the King of Spain's, and the Popes Mony, to joyn with the *Transylvanians* against the *Turks*; because that They are in league with the House of *Austria*. Yet, when all is done, there cannot be any considerable matter done in this Particular, without the Assistance of the *Polanders* also, and the *Muscovites*: and unlesse the Emperour himself also be a Man of a stout, and Warlike spirit; (as we shewed before, when we spake of *Germany*,) and use his utmost endeavour to stop all growing Mischiefs in their very Beginnings; least, by *Delay*, they get head, and grow so much the stronger, and Intractable.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of *Flanders*, and the *Lower Germany*.

It is not without good cause, that the King of Spain endeavours by all possible meanes that he can, to recover the *Low-Countries* again: about the keeping of that only part whereof, which he still possesseth, it hath cost him more Humane Blood, then there is Water in it; and about which He hath spent more Gold, then there are stones in it. And yet neither is this a matter so much to be wondred at; seeing that, could He but once make himself Master of those Countries again, He might then very easily make himself Lord also of the Whole Earth. For, were this but done, both *France* and *Germany* would quickly follow, in spite of what ever they could do: and also England it self would be utterly ruined; and indeed all the Northern Nations would be much weakned, and rendred utterly unable to make any resistance against Him. For we see that *Cæsar*, after he had once conquered the *Belgians*, made little account of all the rest of the Northern Countries; and so presently passed over into England. And indeed there is no power that lies more conveniently, and is better able to destroy the English Navy, then the power of *Holland*, and *Zealand*: for these Provinces, both for the Number of their Shipping, and also for their skill and experience in Nautical affairs, do infinitely surpasse all other Nations whatsoever: not to say any thing of the fierce nature, or of the Wealth of these People. For these *Netherlanders* have diverse Towns and Cities, that are built in the very Water, after the manner as *Venice* is built: out of which Towns, they may very commodiously issue out, and fall upon the English upon all occasions; and may be able to secure their Fleet, returning from the *West-Indies*; and so may have opportunity of carrying over Colonies thither, and making Plantations; and having subdued many Nations there, may exercise a free Trade of Merchandise in those Countries. And therefore the King of Spain must endeavour, to the utmost of

of his power, to reduce these Countries, and bring them under his Obedience again; which yet seems now to be a businesse of no small Difficulty; and meerly through the heedlesnesse, and Ill Managery of the Governours:

I therefore conceive it would not be amisse, to reckon up here all the Errours that have been committed by the *Spaniards* in this particular; that so they may learn to be the more wary for the future. And I shall also lay down such subtile waies and means, by which these People may be subdued: For the Northern Nations are all of such a spirit, as Naturally is addicted to a certain Licentious Freedome, and Liberty; in so much that no Prince shall ever be able to rule them by keeping a strict, and severe hand over them, without using Politick Arts, and by remitting something of their Authority. For, these Nations by reason of their Natural Fecundity, are very numerous: now no Multitude, or Great Number, is easily kept in order.

They are moreover of a firece disposition; as being born, and brought up in a cold Clime. For, those that are born in such cold Countries, have their Natural Heat shut up close within them, neither doth it in them Evaporate in small, minute parts; whence it is, that they are full of Blood, Corpulent, and are full of spirits, and valiant; being also Lovers of *Bacchus*, rather then of *Venus*: and they are, by reason of the Natural Fuliginousnesse, and Mistinesse that is within them, full of unsetled, tumultuous Thoughts; and, by reason of their abundance of spirits, are very prone to all Licentiousnesse; being withall very suspicious, and, by reason of their Drunkennesse, shewing little or no Gravity in their behaviour.

These Northern People (I do not here speak of those Nations that inhabit the utmost Borders of the North) are moreover full of Courage, and without any Craft: whereas the Southern are, on the contrary, full of Craft and subtlety; but very fearful withal. The *Northern* People are of a Temper of Body sutable to the Disposition of their Mind; being big-bodied, and full of Flesh; and are full of Blood, and Vigorous. But the *Southern* are on the contrary, Crafty, and have Dry Bodies; and are apter to run away, then to stand to it in a set battle. Those former are of a Plain, Open Soul; these other are Wily and Subtle, and withal very Malicious; those weare a
Lions

Lions Skin; These a Foxes : Those are of a Boysterous, and Inconstant Nature; These Slow, but Constant in their Actions: Those are Merry, but These are Melancholick; Those are addicted to Wine; These to Women: Those are Courageous; These are Cowardly; Those are Licentious; These are more Composed.

And therefore These are to have more gentle and easie Laws imposed upon them. for they are of so free, and loose a course of life, as that they cannot endure to be bound in by Lawes; and besides, relying upon their own strength, they are apt to care little for those that are their Lords and Rulers. All which things we find to be quite contrary, in the Southern Countries; and especially in *Spain*, which lies something near to the Tropick of *Cancer*; beyond which are the *Amphiscians*, having their Noontide Shadowes cast both wayes, at several times of the year. And therefore I say, that this was the reason why they were so eager to change their Religion; first, because they are so addicted to Wine, and use to have so frequent Feastings, and Drinking-bouts: whereas the Rules of Religion require a more strict life, with Fastings and Abstinence. And secondly, because that being such as are subject to Vehement, and unruly Passions, they had an Opinion, that they should never be able to moderate themselves in their Pleasures: And this was the reason, that they were so ready to give ear to the Doctrine of *Luther*, and *Calvin*; because that these men deny, that Man hath Free Will to do either ill, or well; affirming moreover, that God himself doth work in men both good, and evil: which these Northern Men being easily perswaded to believe, they conceive themselves to have no power in themselves, either to forbear Drinking, or to abstain from Women. We may add hereto, that They have also longed to have an Opportunity given them of opposing the Pope, and the Princes, against whom *Luther* in his Sermons inveighed bitterly.

Which Course of theirs was Diametrically Opposite to that which was taken in other Countries; where they easily perceived, what strange Troubles, and Tumults, the Introducing of a New Religion was the Cause of.

Now the Heresies, that sprung up among those of the Southern Countries, were full of Speculations, and had much subtilty in them; whereas, on the contrary, those that were broached.

ed among the *Northern* People, were very grosse. For, some of the *Southern* denied the Divinity, some the Humanity, and some the Plurality of Wills in Christ; some of them again denied the *Proceſſion* of the *Holy Ghost* from *the Word*, and the like Points, that were both Sublime, and full of Myſtery. But the *Northern* Hereticks, paſſing by theſe High, and Subtile Fancies, fell to cry down the uſe of *Faſting* daies, *Vigils*, *Penance*, with *Auricular Confeſſion*, and all thoſe Points of Diſcipline, that hindred the Multiplication of *Blood*: to theſe we may add the Single Life of Clergy Men, and many other points of this kinde; which, though they agree with, and are very Conſonant both to Reason and to the Scriptures, are yet very repugnant to the Fleſh, and Humane Senſes. Theſe men alſo oppoſe the Authority of Christs Vicar: for, being Men of a high courage, they therefore ſtand ſtiffely to maintain their Liberty. And as in Temporall Matters, they are indeed under the Government of Republicks, or Elective Princes; and yet are no farther Obedient to them, then they themſelves pleaſe; even ſo in Spiritual Matters alſo do they take to themſelves the ſame Liberty.

And as among theſe *Northern* Nations their Commanders and Souldiers are more eminent for their ſtrength and courage, then for their Policy, and Stratagems; in like manner are their Miniſters, in their Diſputations, much better at Rayling then at Reasoning. And hence it is, that under the Pretenſe of Liberty of Conſcience, they only ſeek after Liberty of Domineering, and being accounted the only Men; which pleaſes them much better. And therefore the firſt Errour that was committed by the Spaniards in this Particular, was, that at the Diets of *Worms*, and *Auſburg*, *Luther* was ſuffered to go away alive. Which although, as ſome are of Opinion, was done by *Charles* the Fifth, out of a Politick conſideration; namely, that by this meanes the Pope might have ſome body that he ſhould alwaies ſtand in fear of, and ſo ſhould be forced to hold alwaies in with the Emperour, furniſhing him continually with Mony and Indulgencies, till ſuch time as He ſhould attain to an Universal Monarchy; and wical pronouncing all wars whatſoever, that He ſhould undertake, to be Juſt and Lawful: as fearing, that in caſe he ſhould not do theſe things, the Emperour might take part with his Antagoniſt *Luther*: yet the event ſhewed

shewed clearly, that this was done against all the Rules of Policy. For the Pope being by this meanes weakned, the whole Christian World is now thereby weakned also ; and now that Heresy is introduced, all Subjects, under the Pretense of Freedom of Conscience, have shaken off the Yoak of Obedience; an evident example whereof we have in *Germany*, and the Low Countries, both which were Subject to the said *Charles V.* And therefore we may very well, and safely conclude from hence, that He was deceived, out of a certain Generous Pity ; because He doubted not, but that He should be able to subdue not only *Germany*, and the Protestant Princes, but even the whole World also, whensoever, and as often as himself pleased. Which Fancy of his deceived him in like manner in those expeditions, that He made against *Tunis*, and *France*. And therefore I say, that it was well done of Him indeed to keep his promise made to *Luther*, so long as the Diet lasted ; But yet afterward, He ought not only to have dispatched Him, in his return home ; but to have proceeded to the utter extirpating also of the Protestant Princes. For, by this meanes, that Heresy had been utterly crushed in the very Bud ; neither should *Calvin*, with so many others that have since infected both *Germanies*, ever have appeared in the World : neither had the Princes of the *Netherlands* so carefully followed the steps of the Protestant Princes of *Germany* against the interest of *Charles V.*

A second error was committed by them in those Parts that border upon the *Rhine* ; in that they believed, that they should be able to bring in subjection, and order, that People, that had now shaken off the Yoak, only by taking the course that is used by the Spaniards; namely by introducing that Rigid Inquisition, by the Duke of *Alva*. For we see, that Fires that are now beginning, by the strength of the Winds blowing on them, increase rather the more, then are any whit put out by the same. When as therefore at the first these aforementioned People cryed out for Liberty of Conscience, that so under this Pretense they might shake off the Yoak of Obedience ; and that they could not at the first of all suppress them either by Armes, or strong Holds, or by their Lawes, that were yet accommodated to their own Natures and Temper : it was an easy matter for them to lay hold on their so much Beloved Liberty. And hence it was, that they divided themselves into several Republicks, and chose themselves

themselves Commanders, in order to a War to be made with the Spaniards : and so by this meanes it came to passe, that all the most Ingenious, and Valiant Persons among them, had now an opportunity of shewing themselves in the World, either in the Pulpit, or in the Field. Then presently followed the Wars betwixt them and the Spaniard ; whereby these People were so much exasperated, as that they gave their Generals a greater Power then they had before; and therefore appointed Count *William* of *Nassaw*, Prince of *Orange*, to be General of all their Forces; who was a Man that was indeed more fearful then a Sheep, but more crafty then a Foxe : to whom his Son now succeeds, who is a Warlike young Man, and grown famous for his worthy Deeds, and Victories that he hath gotten. And these Princes, because they professed themselves the Patrons of the Peoples Liberty only, were strangely followed by them, and cryed up above measure. Then did they, to the end that they might make the People hate the Spaniards the more, bring in among them *Calvinisme* ; by which meanes there was caused a greater Disagreement betwixt them and the Pope, and Spaniard, then is caused by the diversity of Manners, shape of Body, and Disposition of Mind that is betwixt them. For, the *Netherlanders*, as hath been said before, are white of Complexion, Tall, Licentious, great Drinkers, and Gluttons, Impatient, Indiscreet, Sanguine, and of a free behaviour : whereas the Spaniards are Black, Crafty, Circumspect, Sober, Continent, Patient, Discreet, Melancholick, Covetous, Severe, and Grave, and (to say all in a word) contrary to them in all things. So that it seemes to be an impossible thing, where there is so great a dissimilitude, and disagreement in Manners and Temper of Body, to cause there any agreement of Minds ; which before was maintained betwixt them only by their being united both in Religion, and Government : which Union being now dissolved, there was Necessarily to follow a Disagreement, and Breach of all former Ties of Friendship. And hence it is now come to that passe, that the Low-Countrymen do more detest and abhor to be subject to the Spaniards, then they love their own life : and so likewise, on the other side, the Spaniards hate them worse then the Divell himself : although they know how to conceal their hatred of them, better then the *Netherlanders* do theirs ; yet in the mean time do they not omit to do them all the mischief that possibly they can,

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that so they may make up their revenge full. Now the want of weighing, and considering rightly of these things, was the cause of the losse of these Provinces.

By what hath been said it appears, that the King should not have made so much hast to have brought in the *Inquisition* amongst them; neither should He have put such extraordinary Taxes upon them; or have affrighted them with the fear of War. But He should rather upon the sudden, and before they were aware of any such thing, have clapt strong Garrisons into all the great Cities, and all the Valiantest, and most Eminent Men of any Seditious City, should have been sent abroad some whither else, under the Pretense of some Military Employment; and the Ringleaders of all Heresies were to have been extirpated and rooted out; and honest Preachers, chosen out among the Natives, and such as were sound in the Catholick Religion, should have been substituted in their places: and then at last, after all this, should the *Inquisition* have been brought in, by the means of the Bishops, though under some other name. And yet even then, He should have forbore to have imposed any Taxes upon them: that so it might appear to all the world, that nothing but their own Welfare and Good was sought after, by Religion; and not the Kings Advantage, and Benefit onely. There should also have been set over them such Governours as were chosen either out of the *Germans*, or *Italians*; seeing they naturally abhor a *Spaniard*; and these indeed should be employed only in the keeping of Cities, but not be made Governours of them: for they are too Severe, and Ceremonious; whereas the *Dutch* should have such Governours set over them, as are more Remisse, and Easie.

To these Errours were added others, that were committed in the Managing of the War: for, the King himself, who was very much beloved of them, as being descended of *German* Blood, yet never went himself in person to the War, but sent in his stead *Spanish* Commanders, who were cruel by nature, and withal extremely hateful to the *Dutch*; being such, as in their Commands would make use of Blowes rather, then of Fair Words. And the truth of this appeared, in that they desired to have one of the House of *Austria* to be their Head; and therefore made choyce of *Matthias*, the Arch-Duke. After him, they chose one that was nearer unto them, namely *Francis*, the King of *France* his

his son; who yet, having afterwards laid a plot so, as that upon a certain day appointed, he would have entered into the City of *Antwerp* upon a sudden, with all his Horſe, whileſt the Citizens dreamt of no ſuch thing, and would by this meanes have made himſelf Maſter of it; (but in the mean time having before-hand laid no foundation for this his deſign, neither by way of Religion, nor Policy;) He was in an inſtant driven out again by the Tradeſmen and Merchants, and that not onely with the loſſe of his Reputation, and Principality, but ſo great was the Tumult, that He had like to have loſt his life in it too. And although *Margaret*, Arch-Duchefſe of *Auſtria*, was made Governefſe of theſe Provinces for one while, and ruled there indeed with the Love and good Will of the Subjects; yet could She not by any means reduce the ſame into a due Obedience; becauſe that Hereſie had now taken ſo deep root amongſt them, and that the People had beſides a ſuſpition, that She had a Deſign of reducing them, and bringing them again under the Obedience of the *Spaniſh* Scepter: and this was the Pretenſe, under which the Ringleaders of that Sedition amongſt them, covered their deſire of Principality, and Liberty, which they ſo greedily thirſted after. And yet afterwards God himſelf ſhewed a way by which theſe people might have been ſubdued; ſeeing that they were ſo divided by their ſeveral Sects, into divers parts; ſome of them ſtanding for dull *Luther*, others for ſubtile *Calvin*, and ſome again for diſſolute *Zwinglius*, and *Mennon*: in ſo much that you can hardly find a houſe amongſt them, wherein theſe different Hereſies are not maintained; neither are we wanting to our ſelves in any thing, ſave only that we have not the ſkill to lay hold on ſo wiſhed an Opportunity as this is, and to make the beſt uſe of it. For, every Kingdom that is divided within it ſelf ſhall be deſtroyed; and a firm Union hath alwaies a very hard Knot to tie.

Notwithſtanding we have not yet ſucceeded all this while; not becauſe the Enemy doth do us any harm, but becauſe we annoy them. For it is certain, that by reaſon of their differences in Religion, they dare not one of them ſo much truſt another, as to joyn together in the Election of a General for their Wars: ſo that, if ever any where, it may be truly ſaid here, that, *Quot capita, tot ſententia*, ſo many Men, ſo many minds. I would be underſtood to ſpeak here, in reference to their Making of Warres abroad,

abroad for the enlarging of their Dominions. For, they are every one of them so Jealous, as that they cannot believe, but that, should they proceed to the chusing of such a General to be over them, He would presently take upon himself the Authority to extirpate all such Sects of Religion, as are different from that which He professeth : and it would be the general fear of them all, that such a one would usurp an Absolute Power over them. And therefore we see, that the successes which they have had in their Wars, under the Conduct of Count *Maurice*, have yet heartned them so far onely, as to enter into a League amongst themselves of maintaining a Defensive War, but not of an Offensive.

And then in the last place, there be many other mischiefs that lye in the way, to hinder the *Spaniards* from compassing the Dominion of these Provinces.

The First whereof is, because they are to fight with an Enemy in his own Country ; to whom both the Nature, and Site of the Country, and also the Temper of the Air are very agreeable ; all which are most contrary to the temper of the *Spaniard*.

The Second is, because that this Nation understandeth very well, how great Inconveniences do arise unto them, by this their War with the *Spaniard* ; and therefore it is not without good cause, that they do so hate the *Spaniards*, who are the Authors of this War : and certainly, to them,

————— *Pax una triumphis*

Innumerus potior. ———

A Firm Peace once settled betwixt them, would be infinitely more Advantageous, then all the Victories they shall get, be they never so many.

A Third is, because that the *Spaniards* being now, as it were, mad, that the *Netherlanders* have been able to hold them play, now for so many years together ; should they but once get the better of them, They would questionlesse make a horrible slaughter amongst them : seeing that They do now at this time miserably afflict what Towns soever they take in, punishing the Inhabitants most grievously.

A Fourth Hinderance of the *Spaniards* Success here is, because that the *Spanish* Commanders fight onely so, as that they may have still Occasion to fight, and not that they may get the Victory ; by this means making, as it were, a Trade of War ;
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which should be used rather as a Means, not only of Defending, but also of Enlarging their Dominions. And the very same is the Practise of the Commanders of the other side also: for even Count *Maurice* himself, to the end that He may the longer keep that Power he hath in his hands, and that conquering the Country by degrees, he may at length get into his power the whole Principality of it, protracts the War, and spins it out as long as he can: and His footsteps do the rest of the Officers and Commanders diligently follow.

Now the *Spanish* Commanders prolong the War, that so their Pay, as well as their Authority may also be prolonged; and take the same course here, that *Charles Spinola* took, when he was sent into *Abruzzo*, against *Mark Sciarra*; with whom he dallied only, and had no desire to destroy him: that so the Viceroy of *Naples* might leave Him to be as it were Lord of *Abruzzo*, and might also send him those large Summes which he had promised him for his Service; mean while that *Sciarra* himself also sent him vast Presents, to the end He should not fall too hard upon him. And thus *Spinola* being paid on both sides, (both by his friend, and his enemy) continued for a long time, and without any danger, the Lord of that Country. So that it is no wonder, that King *Philip* having spent such vast Summes of Money in this War with the *Netherlands*, hath yet not only done no good upon it, but hath besides exasperated the enemy so much the more, and caused them to be the more exercised and experienced in Martial Affairs, and hath given an Opportunity to his Antagonist, Count *Maurice*, and the rest of the *Dutch* Commanders, of acquiring to themselves great Fame and renown for their Military Prowesse: and hath now brought the businesse to that passe, that his enemies, though never so much divided among themselves in their Religion, do yet, meerly through fear of the *Spaniard*, continue faithful and Constant to the League that it made betwixt them.

And therefore truly I am of Opinion, that this War which the *Spaniard* now maintaines against the *Hollander*, is both more Disadvantageous to the *Spaniards*, and on the other side, more Advantageous to the *Hollanders* (only because they are thus continually forced to be in arms.) then if they were let alone, and suffered to live quietly. For thus we find it testified by *Salust*, and after him by *Augustine*; that the *Romans*, by being
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continually exercised, and vexed with War, by their Neighbours, became by this means more eminent and glorious every day then other; and by the Tyranny of *Tarquin*, and others, they grew thereby more and more united among themselves: whereas on the contrary, when they were once left to themselves, without any to annoy them, they then presently fell to raise Civil Wars amongst themselves. For when that *Carthage* was once laid flat with the ground, and that the whole World was now conquered by them; being thus freed from all fear of Foreign Enemies, through a Mutual Emulation amongst themselves they became presently to be divided into Factions, and by this means brought destruction both upon themselves, and their Common-Wealth; as we see clearly in the examples of *Sylla* and *Marius*; and of *Cesar* and *Pompey*: So true an Argument of Wisdom is it, not to hold your Neighbours in War too long, lest by that means they come to be Skilful and Valiant Souldiers. For thus heretofore it was objected against *Agessilaus*, who had been wounded by the *Thebans*, namely, that He had received but his due Reward from them, for teaching them, by His making a long War upon them, how to use Arms.

But the cheifest point of Wisdom is, for a Prince not to make War upon his subjects; especially if they be his Natural subjects, and Natives. For by this means they will be but the more exasperated, and more Averse from Him: and so, that which was at first but only a little Heart-burning, as it were, breaks out afterward into open Rebellion: as we see it happened to *Sigismund*, in his War that He made against the *Bohemians*. For certainly you will never meet with any People, that are so utterly devoyd of all shame, as presently, and upon the Instant to rise and take up arms against their Prince; seeing that the very Name of Treachery and Rebellion is infamous, and hateful every where. But when that the Princes sword is once stained with the subjects blood, and that the Tye of Protection is now broken, and all care of Justice thrown aside; they use then openly to fall off from him, and to declare themselves his Enemies.

Alexander, King of the *Jewes*, beginning at last to be weary of the long War he had maintained against them, wherein he had destroyed at least fifty thousand men; and asking some of his

his friends by what meanes there might be a firm and happy Peace concluded upon betwixt them, was answered; that this could not be brought about by any other meanes, then by His Death: and thus did He, though too late, do that which He ought indeed to have done at the first. I could here reckon up many other examples to this purpose, but that I have resolved not to transgresse against the Brevity which I at first proposed to my self.

To returne therefore to my purpose, I shall here lay down for an Observation, that those that are put to fight in their own Country, for their Wives and Children, *pro Aris et Focis*, as the Ancient *Romans* were used to say, are alwaies wont to fight more stoutly, then those that make war upon a forreign Country; for, that Assault which is not successeful the first day, growes by degrees weaker ever after, and withal adds the greater courage to those that are assaulted. For, the assailants, besides those other Inconveniencies that Naturally accompanie all War, which certainly are very great, are also wearied out by the Disagreeablenesse of a strange Air, and Soyl. Which thing, if *Hannibal* had understood, or considered, and had immediately after his first Victory at *Trebia*, marched against *Rome* it self, and had besieged It; he might at that time easily have overthrown the whole *Roman* Empire: Or at least, after his Victorie at *Canna*, which was much the greater, He should not have given the *Romans* any time to gather together fresh Forces; but, following the Counsel of *Maherbal*, should presently have set upon *Rome* it self. Thus *Abfalon* also, if he had followed the Counsel of *Achitophel*, and had at the first pursued his Father *David*; he had utterly destroyed him, and had possessed himself of all *Judea*; neither had he given him any time to have gathered forces together, and to have recovered courage, as he did, to his Destruction. The Enemy is therefore either at first to be presently suppressed, that so he may not get time, and gather strength; or else he is some way or other to be drawn forth of his own Country; in like manner as *Hercules* drew forth *Anteus*, King of *Libya*, that so He might the easier dispossesse him of his Throne: For otherwise, the nearer he came to the ground, that is, to his own Country, the stronger he presently grew: as the learned Fable informes us. So that it seemes to be both a vain, and Absurd undertaking, to maintain a war still with the *Netherlanders*,
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in their own Country, seeing that they could not be conquered at the very beginning of the war : for the war doth but onely increase their strength, and makes them abler to resist. And therefore I conceive, that there are but two waies left now to be taken, for the bringing this businesse to effect ; the first of which is to sow the seeds of Division amongst them ; and the second, To draw them forth out of their own Country. *Cadmus*, having a designe of erecting a Monarchy at *Thebes*, whether he came a stranger, is said first to kill a Serpent; by which was signified, the Defence, and Safeguard of *Thebes* : and then afterwards, to sow the Teeth of it ; that is to say, to scatter abroad the Poyson of Desire of Innovation, and an Earnestnesse to be instructed in the knowledge of learning, namely, in such New Sciences and Arts, as he had brought over with him from his own Country. And hence Souldiers are said to spring up, who through mutual discord, slew each other ; and the remainders of them that were left, joyned themselves with *Cadmus*, their Head, and Captain ; so laying the foundation of the Kingdom of *Thebes* in *Bœotia*. I affirm therefore, that these very Courses ought to have been taken by the King of Spain ; and not a war to have been onely maintained against them all this while.

And certainly if the *Southern* People would ever conquer, or lay the foundations of a Monarchy over the *Northern*, seeing that they are not strong enough to bring the same about, they ought to have recourse to the Arts either of *Cadmus*, or else of *Jason* : although of the two, *Jason* went the more wisely to work ; seeing he first wonne the heart of *Medea*, that is, the good will and Affections of the *Northern* Women to him : for, the Women of those Countries are easily brought to love *Southern* Men, by reason of the Natural Heat that is in them, which those Women like very well : neither indeed do the *Netherlanders* hate the Spaniards so much, as their Wives love them. Afterwards *Jason*, by the enchantments of *Medea*, slew the Dragon, that is, the Guard of the Kingdom ; such as are the Warlike and Valiant men of a Nation, with the Preachers. And then did he by the meanes of enchanted Oyntments tame fierce Beasts, the Brazen-footed, and fire-spitting Bulls ; that is, by his Friendship and Gifts, He won over to him the Nobles, and Principal men of the Kingdom. And at length, by them he

sowed about the Teeth of the Dragon; that is, by the assistance of the Nobles, he spread abroad the Seeds of Discord and Dissension about Religion, Arts, and Honours. Whence in the last place sprung up Souldiers, that is, *Factions*; (such as are those of the *Guelphs* and *Gibellines*, the *Pontificians* and *Imperialists*, the *Lutherans* and *Catholicks*,) wherein they killed each other: But those that remained, chose *Jason* for their Head, and Commander; and, though few in number, yet afforded Him their assistance in the getting of the *Golden Fleece*, that is to say, such an Empire as we here speak of.

This Learned Fable I have therefore proposed, and explained, that I might shew the King of *Spain* what he is to do; seeing that He hath hitherto taken so great pains, and lost so many men, and all to no purpose; as *Cadmus* did, before he had killed the *Serpent*. Namely, in the first place, I would have either the King himself, or else his Daughter, or his son, to go and dwell either a *Antwerp*, or *Bruxels*; or, if he think fit rather, at *Gannt*; that so, by their Presence, the Subjects may be the more encouraged, and withal Forraigners may be drawn thither too; herein following the Example of *Cadmus*, who, after his men were slain, went himself to the Fountain of the *Serpent*, that kept the same.

In the next place, I would have Him remove from all the Neighbouring Provinces all Suspicion, or fear of having any more Wars made upon them by the *Spaniards*; and He should suffer them to live a while in peace, and quietnesse: and He withal shew himself so gentle, and full of humanity to his own Subjects there, that Forreigners, taking notice of it, should even repine thereat, and should have a desire kindled within them of enjoying the same happinesse, and of joyning themselves with His Subjects in the defending of that his Dominion.

In the Third place, He should remit the Taxes and Impositions that have been laid upon those Places that are under his subjection; and should exact no more of them, then what is necessary for the Maintenance of the Kings Court only, and the payment of the Souldiers that keep the Garrisons there: But however, instead thereof, He should require a certain number of Souldiers to be raised yearly out of every City; which He may send away into the *West-Indies*. And let him be sure to pick out the stoutest, and ablest men, for this purpose; by this means di-
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verting the Noxious Humours from hence, and turning them another way; and filling up with these men his Armies in other Parts. For, from all such Countries as abound in Men, it is better to require Men, then Mony: for, this is both more advantageous to the Prince; and also more agreeable to the humour of the People themselves.

Fourthly, I would have Him make a General Feast every year, to be kept upon one certain day, in each several City and great Town, and at His own charge; at which time every City throughout the whole Province would Voluntarily declare their readinesse to serve the House of *Austria*. And at this Yearly Feast I would have no cost to be spared: for, there is nothing in the world that doth more unite this People among themselves, and bind them to others, then to Feast them, and make them Drunk once a year at least: which Practise is said to have been first taken up by *Minos*, the ancient Law-giver.

Fifthly, I would have the Name of the *Inquisition* taken away; though the *Inquisition* it self should be kept up by the Bishops, but under some other Name; and It should not be so severe, as it is in *Spain*, and at *Rome*; but the Terrour of it should consist in Words only, and Threatnings, rather then in any more Harsh Usage.

Sixthly, that under pretense of a *Croisade* Expedition, there should be Indulgences, and Dispensations procured from the Pope concerning *Fasting daies*, and the Abstaining from Flesh at certain times of the Year: for, these People are infinitely given to Feastings, and Revellings.

Seventhly, all Garrison'd Towns should be kept by *Spanish* Souldiers; but the Government of the same should be committed to the care of Bishops; as the Government of the several Provinces should be put into the hands of Cardinals; who should be such as are of Ripe Years, and are eminent also for Wisdom. And then would I have some of the Gentry of *Venice* to be appointed as Judges, and to have the hearing of all Law Causes amongst them: for by this means the *Italians* and *Low-Country-men* will easily be reconciled to each other; seeing that these later love the *Italians* much better then they do the *Spaniards*.

Eighthly, let Souldiers be tempted by large Pay to leave the service of the Rebel *Netherlanders*; and these should be sent
away

away to the King's other Armies abroad ; and the *Spaniards* should do well to inveigle, and fetch away Women out of Their Quarters into their own ; where they should be married to *Spaniards*. And I would also have Women of Quality from among the Dutch Hereticks to be chosen out, and married to some of the Catholick Nobility : for, as I have shewed before, these Women would willingly yeild to love such Husbands. And indeed it is a wonderful thing to imagine, how Advantageous a matter it is to such Princes, as have conquered any Nations, to have their Subjects contract Marriages with the Women of the said Nations. For, *Alexander* the Great himself marrying *Roxane*, a *Persian* Lady, and giving to others of his Army a hundred other women of the same Nation for Wives, got Himself a great deal of good Will among the *Persians* ; who hereupon perswaded themselves, that they should find *Alexander* a very courteous and loving Prince to them. And *Livy* writes of those of *Capua*, that nothing did more hinder them from joyning with *Hannibal*, then the Affinity that had been contracted betwixt them and the *Romans*.

Ninthly, let Him endeavour to weaken the Heads of their Factions, by making War upon them from several parts at once, and let all diligent care be used, that they may be more distracted every day then other, and divided among themselves : that so through their own dissentions, and their envy at the mutual Concord and Prosperity of their Enemies, they may even despond, and lose all heart and courage. And this course, of making your own Advantages out of your Enemies Sufferings, is a most useful one, and was very much practised by Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*.

Tenthly, seeing that it is only the fear they have of the *Spaniard*, and especially the hatred they bear to the Pope, that keeps them at Unity among themselves ; because they do all unanimously agree in this, that the Pope is *Antichrist*, though in all other of their Tenets they are at sufficient difference among themselves ; there must therefore care be taken, that all fear of War being removed, That Controversie only be proposed to be publicly disputed on ; for, upon this do all the rest depend. Neither would I have any other Nice, or Frivolous Questions to be at all proposed to them to be discussed ; but only that one, Touching the Novelty of the Papal Authority ; as I have touched before

before, and whereof I treated sufficiently, in my *Dialogue* against These Men.

In the Eleventh place, it must be Unanimously, and stoutly maintained against them, that All Commentaries whatsoever that have been written upon the Bible, whether by Catholicks, or Hereticks, ever since S. *Augustin's* time, are to be suspected, and not to be trusted to ; and that the only Authors that are to be received, are S. *Clemens Romanus*, S. *Cyprian*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, S. *Chrysostome*, *Basil* and *Tertulian*. For, the Heresie of *Denying Free Will*, and the like, are to be better understood out of the Ancients, (to whom also these people are most of all addicted) then out of Later Writers, (whom they cannot endure to hear of:) as appears plainly out of *Clemens Romanus*. I would have that controversie therefore to be discussed, touching the Original of that *Evil*, that moved *Epicurus*, and some others, to deny that there was a *God*: for, they perswaded themselves, that He was excluded, by reason of *Evil*. Others there were, that believed there were *Two Gods*; of which number were *Manes*, and perhaps *Pythagoras* too. Others, as the *Libertines*, have boldly declared that their Opinion was, that there was no such thing, as either *Evil*, or *Sin*. Others have taught, that *God* is the *Author*, and Cause of all *Evil*; and that he is a Tyrant: and of this Opinion are *Calvin*, *Zuinglius*, *Bullinger*, *Luther*, and *Beza*; namely, while they will have *God* to be the *Author of All Things*. Which Opinion certainly, as both *Cicero*, and *Plato* teach, must needs tend to the disturbance of every Well Ordered Commonwealth, for as much as it deprives Men of all Freedom of doing either well, or ill; and so in effect destroyes all Law and Discipline. And the long Canvassing, and dwelling upon the Examination of this Opinion, hath made all those on the other side the *Alpes*, Atheists, and *Epicureans*; who have therefore denied that there is a *God*, because they would not assent to yield Obedience to the Pope of *Rome*.

And therefore my judgement is, that in disputing with these men in the presence of Learned men, they should have Political, and Natural Arguments urged against them: And again, before the Common People, they should be required to give an account, whence they had their Calling: as I have shewed more at large in my *Dialogue*, and my *Political and Theological Questions*, written against These Men. For, the Multiplying of
Books,

Books, and the Spinning out of Controversies, do but add Authority to a Bad Cause, and besides also shew like a kind of Victory.

Twelfthly, these Hereticks after they had put forth New Bibles into the World, and wresting all the Fathers and Historians as they pleased, put such interpretations upon the same as they thought good; they then began, in order thereunto, to apply themselves to the study of the Hebrew, and Greek Tongues, and started a thousand Grammatical Niceties, wherewith they have filled up many great Volumes: in so much that the whole North in a manner makes a *Grammatical* War upon us, rather than a *Spiritual*: whereas We have long since laid aside the study of the Languages, ever since we overcame the *Hebrews, Greeks, and Latines*, and have made them submit themselves to Christianity, or else have devested them of the power of discharging all Political, and Sacerdotal Administrations; as it is with the *Jews* at this day. And therefore we intend not now to trouble our selves any further with Petite Sophistical Niceties, and Grammatical Quirks; but relying only upon our own strength of Wit, we let alone all Prolix Courses of Disciplines, and the tediousnesse of writing huge Volumes: mean while that these men spend their time herein, and weary us out almost with their Cavillings, although they do not get the better of us.

I conceive therefore, that these men should be taken off from these their Grammatical Heresies, namely by some New Arts and Sciences, and such wherein we are excellent our selves. And to this end the King should erect certain Schools in all the Principal Cities, wherein the *Arabick* Tongue should be taught; that so by this meanes there may be such among his subjects as shall be able to dispute with the *Turks, Moors, and Persians*, who by the use of that Tongue spread their *Maiumetanisme*, as We do *Christianity*, by the *Latine* Tongue: and so by this meanes our Intestine Wars may be laid aside, and our Armes turned against Forreign Enemies.

There should also Schools be erected for the *Mathematicks*, and *Astrology*; unto which these Northern People should be invited to come, by proposing some Salaries for such of them, as shall apply themselves to the Discovering, and giving an Account of such Stars and Constellations, as are found in the other Hemis-

Hemisphere, in the *New World*. For, by this means there would redound to the *Spanish* Empire both Honour, and Profit. I would also have the Schools of the Old Philosophers to be opened again; as of the *Platonists*, and *Stoicks*, and of the *Telephus*; that so the People may be diverted from Theological Questions, and may apply themselves to study Questions of *Philosophy*; for, these come nearer to the *Christian Faith*, then the Doctrine of *Aristotle* doth. Now the King, in doing these things, shall follow the Example of *Hercules*, who, to the end He might the more easily overcome *Anteus*, drew him forth of his own Territories; and also of *Cadmus*, who brought over New Arts and Sciences with him into *Bœotia*; and by means of the same, got to be Prince of that Country. And by taking this Course, the Principal among the Hereticks, when they shall see there is more to be gotten there then here, forsaking their Heresies, will become Ringleaders in the Sects of *Philosophy*, and *Astrology*.

And besides, that they may gain our favour, they will probably make head against their enemies the *Turks*, and their impious Doctrine, which hath insensibly crept into *Germany*; because it agrees very much with *Calvinisme*. There should also be erected Publick Work-houses, for the exercise of *Mechanical Arts*, to which this People is exceeding Apt; and so by this means will the Businesse of Navigation be much promoted, together with the skill of Besieging Towns, and of taking them in by the use of Artificial Fire-works. By this means the People (probably) will be taken off from their False Religion, and divided one from another; to the great Advantage of the King, and Kingdom of *Spain*; to whom many will now come and tender their Service; and His Empire, which of late hath been Contemptible, and hateful to all the World, shall recover its ancient Splendour and Honour.

13. There must mutual Contentions and Hatred be stirred up amongst the Nobles, and Principal Men of the Country: and that part, that most favours the *Spanish* Interest, must be assisted, and rewarded with gifts; that so the rest may be brought over too, and may be encouraged to do the like. But if this cannot be done, He must then rid them out of the way; or if they cannot be found to have deserved death any way, then must their Reputation only be diminished, (for Injustice
never

never yet took deep root) or else they must be sent away into some other parts. *Paulus Amilius*, that he might leave *Macedonia* in a quiet and peaceable condition, perswaded all the Principal of the Nobility to take their wives and children, and go live in *Italy*. And *Charles* the Great, to prevent the frequent Tumults and Commotions that were in *Saxony*, sent all the Nobility of that Country into *France*.

14. They should be prevailed with to sail away into the New World, and to joyn with the Portugal Fleet, and break into *Arabia* and *Palestine*, through the Red Sea, so to annoy the Turks, as shall be hereafter shewed: that so being drawn out of their own Country to fight against Forreign Enemies, they may be destroyed by the Spaniards, who in this particular are much abler men then They.

15. The seeds of Emulation, and Envy should be sowed amongst them, that after the example of those Brothers that sprung up out of the Serpents Teeth, they may destroy one another; and that those few of them that shall remain, may be afterwards made use of by the King of Spain, for his service. But then it is necessary, in the first place, that the Serpent of Sedition it self, I mean Count *Maurice*, should be destroyed; and not have Opportunity given him, by the continuing of the War, of growing greater and more powerful every day then other. But before all, as I said before, there must be New Learning, and New Languages introduced amongst them, according to the Example of *Cadmus*; and there must likewise Women be got away from them, after the example of *Jason*.

16. The *Hollanders* are to be hired every year, (though it should Cost the King a Million of Gold) to be a convoy to the Spanish Fleet returning out of the *West Indies*; and also to secure the Sea Coast of Spain against the English; and those that are the Chief amongst them in that expedition, should deliver up their Sons for Hostages, till such time as they shall have done their businesse effectually. For these men will willingly be hired for money, to fight against England: and very probably there will at length be found some one or other of them, that will for money also betray even *Holland* it self, and their whole Fleet, to the *Spaniards*. And certainly, if the seeds of Dissention, and Envy, were but once sowed among the Principal men, and Nobles of these Common-Wealths; they would never be
able

able to hold up so stiffly against the Spaniards, and gain strength every day, as they do : neither would those, that now maintain Bookish Controversies against the Pope, get so much reputation and Authority among the People : and the King himself would also by this means confirm his own Empire both by Sea, and Land, and would draw these People over to him.

17 These People are wonderfully taken with *Miracles*, and are great Admirers of any Excellency, and Eminent Vertue : so that any Holy, and Wise men, might easily by their Arts draw them to any thing. Therefore there is need of such diligent Workmen, who by their Doctrine, and Spotlesse Sanctimony of their Life, may call home those straying sheep to the way of Truth. And if it should please God to call Me to take this Imployment upon me, I should &c.

18. When these People were now once divided, and weakened; they should then upon the sudden be set upon by an Army: for Delay tends rather to the confounding, then the well Ordering of Affaires : For,

————— *Semper nocuit differre paratis.*

When Preparations now are made,
Designs are by Delay betray'd.

The King should therefore fall in upon them with a numerous, and powerful Army, in the head whereof Himself should be, and should withal make use of some unusual Stratagem; without which, all his Designs will come to nothing. There should also some one among the Spanish Commanders, who is both a Stout, and also a Wise and circumspect man, be suborned by the King of Spain, to counterfeit himself to be a Renegado, and going over to the Enemy, should insinuate himself into the States General, and should prevail with them to make him their General : as we read *Zopyrus* did, who betrayed the City of *Babylon*, whether he had fled, (having first cut off his own Nose, Ears, and Lips, and making them believe, that all those were the Marks of the Cruelty of *Darius*) to his Master : or, as *Sinon* did to the *Trojans* ; and as *Sextus Tarquinus* did, who going over to the *Gabii*, and making them believe that he was fled from his Father, and being both believed by them, and also chosen to be their General, he first cut off the cheif men of the Commonwealth, and afterwards betrayed the said *Gabii* to his Father.

For the bringing about of the like Designe whereof, the King of Spain hath need of a man that is most faithful, as well as Valiant, and Wise; and not such a one as was that Perfidious fellow, *Antonio Perez*.

19. Seing that the Cities of the *Netherlands* were in former times, and before the Wars, the greatest Mart Towns in all *Europe*, and that for no other reason, but only because that the Customs of all such Commodities as were either imported thither, or exported into other parts (which were both infinite in number, and of all sorts) were but small: it will therefore concern the King, whiles He endeavours to reconcile these People to Himself, to take this into his consideration, and to recall again that Ancient Custome, and, in a word, to restore to the *Netherlands* its former Happinesse, and to endeavour the Continuation of the same. For, although these Countries have no Gold Mines of their own, yet, while all things were quiet with them, and no noyse of war heard amongst them; what by their various, and inestimable Pieces of Workmanship, and their admirable skill in Manufactures, and other Arts, they had got together so much Gold, as that they needed not at all to envy either the *Hungarian*, or the *Transylvanian* Mines: Neither was there any Country more Glorious, rich, or more frequented by Forreigners, I will not say, in all Europe onely, but in the whole World, then this was; in so much that, in regard of that vast, immense Treasure, that *Charles* the V. received from thence, it was for just cause called by some, *The Emperours Indies*.

It much concerns the Interest therefore of the King of *Spain*, that He reconcile these People to Himself, and that things may be restored to their former State and condition; which is a thing that is wont to be very easily brought about. And to the effecting hereof He ought not to spare either for Cost, Pains, Counsel, or Industry.

20. A Careful Administration of Justice, together with Peace, and Plenty of all things, will contribute much to the bringing of these things about; as also the Maintaining, and keeping up of Religion, Learning, and Vertue. For seeing that those that are of Religious Orders, and other Learned men, and Persons of Worth, are the men that are as it were the Heads among the rest of the People; whosoever hath These of his side, he may easily draw all the rest over to him also.

For

For, those of Religious Orders bear rule over the Consciences of the People; as the Learned do over their Wits; and those of Eminency and Worth, over their Purfes, and Military strength: Those former are looked upon for their Piety, and Religion; the Other for their Learning and VVisedome: Those through Reverence; These through the Esteem the World hath of their Parts.

And hence it is, that what soever Those men either do, or say, it passeth for Oracular, and is thought worthy to be imbraced and followed by All men.

21. The same also of a Princes being addicted to Mercy, and Clemency, and constantly persevering in the same, will stand him in very good stead; if so be that it may be but made known to all men, that this Gentleness, and Connivence in him proceeds meerly from his own good Nature and Inclination; but that when he punisheth any, it is out of Necessity, and his Zeal towards Justice, and the love of the publick Peace. Thus *Nero*, in the beginning of his Empire, by his cunning dissembling his Natural Inclinations, and his appearing to be a Merciful Prince, wonderfully wonne the hearts and affections of the people of Rome to him: which part He acted so cunningly, and to the life, as that, when a certain Sentence of Judgment, that had been pronounced by the Judges against an offender, was brought to Him to set his hand to it, He sighing said, *O quam vellem scireas non didicisse!* I could wish, I had never known a letter.

22. The Raies of some extraordinary, eminent Vertue, shining forth in a Prince, would also be of very great advantage to Him: for by this meanes he would not only oblige his own Subjects to him, but even his Enemies would be won over to love, and favour him; examples whereof we have in *Alexander*, and *Scipio*; both of which gave testimony to the World of their Singular Continency, and Moderation in all things; as likewise in *Camillus*, and *Fabius*; who both gave evidence of the Greatnesse of their Courage, the one against the *Falisci*: and the other against King *Pyrrhus*. These sparks of Gallantry appeared also in the Emperour *Comode*, in his war again *Misao*; and likewise in *Charles* the Great, who besides his diligent Observance of Religion, and his endeavours to promote Learning, got himself a great deal of Reputation also by his Beneficence, and Liberality towards all sorts of men, both the highest, lowest,

and of middle ranke, and indeed generally to all. And certainly there is not a more Lovely, strong, and commendable Tye, whereby to bind the Affections of the People to a man, then Liberality and Bountifulnesse.

23 But above all things, it would be a businesse of very great Efficacy, if that such Covenants and Agreements as have been made betwixt the King and them were but kept; which yet the Spaniards have neglected to do, though to their Cost, and the losse of their own lives. For, nothing doth more offend, and alienate the hearts both of Natural, as well as conquered subjects, then when they see that those Capitulations, as they call them, and Articles, upon which they have submitted themselves to any Prince, are altered, and changed by him. And we see, that this being not observed by the Duke of *Alva*, who was a Covetous, and Unjust man, and one that looked after nothing but his own Gain; was the cause that the Netherlands began to raise such Tumults there, and at length openly to rebel against the King. Whereas on the contrary, *Alexander Farnese*, Duke of *Parma*, for his fidelity in keeping his promises and Agreements, (which is certainly an Infallible Argument of a Constant Mind, and of an Excellent Judgement, got himself an exceeding great repute of Gallantry and worth among the Netherlanders. And questionlesse He was a most Compleat, and thoroughly-accomplished Souldier; and served as General under a most Just King, alwaies commanding an Army under Him, for the service of the Church, and of God; sometimes following the example of *Fabius*, and sometimes that of *Marcellus*.

24. Neither would it be a businesse of small moment, to bring in the Spanish Tongue into these Countries, and to cause it to be spoken there; according to the Practise of the Ancient *Romans*, who, when they had conquered any Country, caused the Nation conquered to learn the Latine Tongue. Thus did the *Arabians* also, after the example of the *Romans*, introducee their Language into a great part of *Africk*, and of *Spain*: and *William* Duke of *Normandy*, surnamed the Conquerour, endeavoured, about five hundred years since, to do the same in England. But now, for the introducing of a Language into any conquered Country, it is necessary, in the first place that the Laws of that Country be written in the said Language, and that

that the Lawyers Plead in that Language in all Courts of Judicature; and likewise that all Commissions, Proclamations, and Petitions, be published, or written in no other Language but that. This was also done heretofore by *Charles the Great*, who having made himself Master of the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, which He afterwards bestowed upon the Church, He would have it called by the Name of *Romania*; that so by degrees He might bring into disuse the Language, and Customes of the Greeks, to whom that People had been formerly subject; and might withal implant in them the love both of the *Roman Church*, and of the *Roman Emperour*. And even the Great Turk also does not suffer any of the Inhabitants of *Natolia* to use any other Language but the Turkish, save onely in their Church Services.

25. Education also seemes to have a great stroke herein, as being indeed, as it were, a second Nature; by the meanes whereof, strangers are in a manner Naturalized. The King of Spain therefore should do well to take the Sons of the Nobility, and Principal men, as also such Poor mens sons, as are found to be endued with any extraordinary Natural Parts; and to take order that they may be carefully brought up in some of the afore mentioned *Seminaries* in *Spain*, either of Armes, or of Arts. *Alexander the Great*, finding the benefit of this course, commanded that so many Thousands of the *Persian* Youth should be picked out, and be Trained up in Learning the use of Armes, & in the Habit, and Manners of the *Macedonians*; conceiving that He should by this meanes receive as much benefit by them, when they were once grown up to be men, as by his own Natural Subjects of *Macedonia* themselves. After the same manner doth the Turk bring up his *Janizaries*, who are onely the Children of such of his Subjects as he hath conquered by war, or else of Christians, and Forreigners, such as he can catch abroad at Sea; which afterwards prove the most faithful Souldiers to him that ever he had. And indeed these are the men, to whom the Guard and Protection of the Emperours person is committed; and these men doth the Great Turk make use of only, in all Affaires of the greatest consequence, where there is most need either of strength, or Fidelity. By meanes of the Turks thus bringing up of the sons of his subjects, He makes two great Advantages to himself; For, first he deprives his unfaithful subjects of their strength; and then, secondly, by that strength of theirs, of which he hath deprived them, he confirmeth his own.

26. I would advise Our King, not to despise, or make light of any the least Commotions, or Distempers among his Nobles, or Subjects: for, all Mischiefs have but small Beginnings; which yet, if they be neglected, and not looked unto in time, will very probably bring Ruine with them in the end: as we see, the least Clouds in appearance at first, do in the end produce most Horrid Tempests and Storms.

27. I would not have the King to assent to the Proposal of any thing, that may introduce with it any Change, or Innovation in the State: for, His very giving way to have the same deliberated upon, adds both Authority, and esteem to the same. All the Troubles that have befallen, both in the *Netherlands*, and in *France*, took their Rise from Two little Books; of which the one was read to *Francis* the Second, King of *France*, by *Caspar Coligni*; and the other was presented to the Duchesse of *Parma* by the *L. de Brederode*.

28. Let the King take heed, how he ever exercises his Absolute Power among those people, where His Ordinary Power will serve the turn well enough: for, That way of proceeding is proper to Tyrants only; but this Later, to Good Princes. And indeed, all Absolute, and Extream Power may rather be said to be *Tempestas*, then *Potestas*, a *Tempest*, rather then *Power*.

29. Let there be all care taken, about the chusing of the Ministers of State in those Countries, that only such be made choyce of, as are but just sufficient to discharge the Trust committed to them; and that they be neither too much above it, nor beneath it: which we find to have been carefully observed by the Emperour *Tiberius*. For, those whose Abilities are above the Employment they are put upon, will be apt to neglect the same, as despising it, and thinking it below them: and then, the other are not able to discharge it, if they would.

Lastly, Let Him never so much trust to any Peace, as to make him quite lay aside his Armes: for, such an *Unarmed Peace* would prove but a weak one. *Constantine* the Great, enjoying now a Settled Peace every where round about Him, disbanded all the Souldiers that lay in Garrisons upon the Borders of his Empire: by which means He set open a Gate for the Barbarous Nations, to break in upon His Territories. And in like manner *Maximilian* the First, trusting too much to the Truce agreed upon betwixt Him and the *Turk*, and thereupon laying down his

his Armes, was the cause of the Ruine of very many Christians.

And thus have we discoursed of these Particulars, as copiously as we thought was fit to be committed to Paper: but, as for the rest of those more *Secret Particulars*, and which are more worthy of Observation, I shall reserve them till some other time, when it shall please his Majestie to admit me to his Presence, and shall give me Audience concerning the same. However, in the meantime, those things which we have here proposed, are not to be omitted: for, unlesse by these Means here set down, the Peoples good Affection towards their King be stirred up, and cherished, His Dominion in those parts will prove to be but like a Plant without any Root. For, as every the least Storm will be apt to overturn a Tree that hath no firm Root in the ground; in like manner will every the least Occasion offered alienate the hearts of the Subjects from their Prince, where they are but ill affected to Him before; and will take them off from their Allegiance to their Natural Prince; and being thenceforth hurried about by Fortune, they will one while adhere to One, and by and by again to Another. And hence arise all the Mutations that we see, in Kingdoms, and States: a most evident Example whereof we have in the Kingdom of *France*.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of *Africk*.

He *Turk* possesseth in *Africk*, all *Egypt*, *Algier*, and *Tunis*. The Kingdome of *Fez* hath a peculiar King of its own; who notwithstanding might very easily be cast out of his Throne; because that *Mahometanism* in those parts is divided into above sixty several Sects. The rest of the Kings in *Africk* have but very small Dominions; except only the King of the *Abyssines*, who is commonly called *Prester John*, and hath above fifty smaller Kingdomes under him. This King of the *Abyssines*.

Abyssines is a Christian, although He doth not professe the Pure, Catholick Religion. It is necessary therefore, that Forces should be brought over thence into *Spain*, seeing that the passage to and fro is very easie. For, our King is possessed of the Kingdome of *Oran* there already, where He is in continual Wars with the *Moors*: who might easily all of them be conquered, if he should but make One Invasion only upon them with an Army of *Germans*. Neither indeed need the King fear any Obstruction to His *Spanish Monarchy* from those Parts. For, those Nations are much fitter to serve, then to Command, and bear Rule: neither have They ever been able to conquer any of the *Northern Nations*, but rather themselves have been alwaies conquered by Them: excepting only *Carthage*, which was a Colony of *Tyre*; who yet were at length utterly ruined by the *Romans*. And the *Arabians* also passed over out of *Africk* into *Spain*; where they kept their footing for the space of Eight Hundred yeares; yet were at length quite driven out again. Neither indeed were they truly *Africans*: but only the Novelty of their Armes, together with that of their *Mahometan Religion* encouraged them so far, as to fall upon so bold an attempt. But the *Africans* at this day are a very Weak, unwarlike People: and, for as much as they are Naturally Envious, Crafty, and of a servile Nature, the King of *Spain*, by making use of one of the little Kings there, might in a little time break in upon them, and make his way to the most Inmost Countries of all *Africk*; as the *Romans* of old did, by the help of *Masiniissa*. And therefore *Sebastian*, King of *Portugal*, did wisely, when he made use of the King of *Fiz* his sons, for the getting, and possessing himself of that Kingdom; although he was not so very wise, in venturing his own Person in that Expedition. And indeed, because that the sons of those Kings are wont to kill one another, they are so much the more easily conquered, if a man do but make any one of them over to him. But seeing these People are so much divided among themselves, there is no need of fearing them at all.

The King of *Spain* ought therefore to get further footing in *Africk*; seeing that he hath opportunity enough of doing so, by reason of the many strong Holds that He is Master of, all along the Western, and Southern Coast of *Africk*. And He should do well, to make over to him the above named *Prefter John*; whom he should cunningly set against the rest, and get him to make War

War upon them. And the King of Spain may very easily contract friendship with this *Prester John* by means of the Jesuites, whom he may send thither; And He should also, by his Embassadours sent to him for that purpose, put him in mind of the Duty, and Obedience that he owes to the Pope; (which was formerly done in the time of Pope *Eugenius IV.* and *Clemens VII.* by means of the *Portuguez*;) and so should make a League with him. There should therefore be sent thither such as are both true Catholicks, and Learned men, to instruct them in the Arts, and in the True Religion, both which they are as yet Ignorant of: For, they would be easily converted; and that so much the rather, because they say it hath been heretofore foretold them, by a certain Prophetesse, whose name was *Sinoda*, that They were predestinated to joyn with the *Latines*, and to root out the Turk, and to set at Liberty the Holy Sepulchre of Christ.

Seeing therefore that the King of Spain is Master of all the *African* shores, He must make it his care, that none may have any Fleets to passe by the said Coasts: but that it may be free and safe for the aforesaid *Prester John*, by the assistance of the *Portuguez*, to sayl into *Palestine*, when ever he pleases, by the Gulf of *Arabia*, and there to fall upon the *Turks*, and to do them what mischief he can. And to this purpose He is to be furnished with all Necessary Means, (as namely, Engines of War, and other such Provisions) whereby he may be the better enabled to conquer the *Turk*. For, if *Mahometanism* should but once be introduced into that Kingdom of his, it would prove extreemly prejudicial to the whole Christian World, and especially to *Spain*. He may also come in by *Egypt*, and so fall upon the *Turk*. And if there were but a gallant Fleet lying about *Naples*, that might go out at pleasure, and scour the Seas all along the Northern Coast of *Africk*, it might easily be brought under the King of Spain's power: and those Slaves also that are at *Algier*, and in *Cyrene*, might be dealt with, to rise up all at once, and rebel, in favour of the *Spaniard*. And such a Fleet, as I but now spake of, might be maintained meerly by the Prizes that they should take: and so by that means would both *Italy* be secured; and all such other places also, that are now obstacles to the *Spanish Monarchy*, might be taken in.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of Persia, and Cataia.



He King of *Spain* must endeavour by all Means possible to hinder the *Persians*, and those of *Taprobana*, from putting out any Fleets of Ships to Sea; and also the *Arabians*; for these people would questionlesse be a great hinderance to his Affaires in the *East-Indies*, and would annoy His Fleet in its passage that way: and might also probably infect the New-converted Christians there with *Mahumetanisme*. He ought therefore to build strong Castles all along the Coasts of *Arabia* and *Ethiopia*, and so likewise upon the Coasts of the *Arabian Gulf*, and also in all the Southern Islands that lye upon the Coast of *Africk*; and *Asia*: and He should enter into a League with the *Persian*, against the *Turk*. And yet perhaps He need not so much care to have the *Turk* quite extirpated; for, whosoever of those two, should overcome the other, whether the *Turk*, or *Persian*, he would thereby become so powerful, as that he would be able to conquer the whole Christian World, and so consequently to spoyle all the hopes of a *Spanish* Monarchy: and it might prove as Prejudicial to Christendom, to have the *Turk* ruined by any other, but some Christian Prince; as it would be for the advantage of Christendome, that he should be conquered by the Christians themselves alone.

But yet, seeing that the *Turk* does us continually very much harm, breaking in upon us by *Hungary*, *Sclavonia*, and *Africk*; it would be good Policy to set the *Persian* upon him; and to take a course that He may have *Guns*, and such like Artillery sent unto him, to make use of in his Warres against the *Turk*. For, it was meerly the want of these, that was the cause that He lost almost all *Armenia*, and that the *Turk* is now so Potent in the East; and that he so little fears the *Persian*, as he does: for by this means, whiles he is making War upon the Christians in the West, He is secure from all danger from *Asia*; and so
gets

gets ground upon us daily more and more. It would be convenient therefore to make a League with the *Persian*; and especially, in respect of the Kings Negotiations in the *East-Indies*; because that His Fleet must passe by the *Persian Coast*. And I am of opinion also, that the same ought to be done with the Kings of *Calecut*, *Narsinga*, and *Caramania*: but these are not to be furnished with Guns. They may indeed be instructed in the Art of Printing, and other Arts, that are in use among the Christians: to the end they may thereby have the Christians in admiration, and high esteem; and that by the introducing of Ingenious Arts and Sciences amongst them, they may be made our Own. And yet Arts are wont to become a Prey to Armes at last; unlesse they be both equally in practise together. And hence it is that *Pallas*, in the Fable, is said to have overcome both *Calliope*, and *Mars*; because She was experienced as well in the use of *Mars* his Armes, as *Calliope's* Arts.

The like course is to be taken with those of *Taprobani*, *China*, and *Japan*, by communicating our Arts and Sciences to them; as *Printing*, *Painting*, and the like; which will be very much admired by them; and by the means of which, they may by degrees be won over, and may be brought to embrace the Christian Faith. But those that deal with them, must be sure, that above all things they abstain from Covetousnesse, and exercising of Cruelty upon any of these people; lest otherwise they should be provoked, and should joyn all together against us, and should thereby prove a great hinderance to the *Spaniards* Designs.

We shall not need to speak any thing here of the Great Cham of *Cataia*, seeing that his Country lies so far out of the road that the *Spaniard* takes in his Voyage to the *East-Indies*; notwithstanding that the *Persians*, and *Turks* have cause enough to stand in fear of him: and we know very well, that the *Tartarians* have many times over-run all *Asia*; and that also, becoming Christians, they restored unto Us *Jerusalem*. Yet afterwards, when they once saw Our Unworthy, Base Disposition, in that, notwithstanding we all professed the same Christian Religion, we were yet continually at War one with another; they forsook Christianity again, and presently embraced *Mahumetanisme*, which at that time flourished infinitely, and was in high esteem throughout the Whole East. And by this means was it,

that they came to give over making war any longer upon the *Persians* and *Turks*, whom they now suffered to live quietly, without being at all annoyed by Them, who yet had in former times often overthrown, and beaten them: But, on the other side, they were more and more alienated from the Christian Faith, and from the Christians, whom they saw to be so Base, and Unworthy, as to be continually at discord and variance amongst themselves. And yet I believe, that the Glorious *Spanish Monarchy*, which encompasseth the whole Earth, will shortly reduce them, and bring them to embrace again the Christian Religion: especially if there should any Wars break out in the Eastern Parts; and that so much the rather, because that *Macon* is now divided into many several Sects. Besides, the People of *Calecut*, and of *Goa*, are Christians already, though but *Nestorians*: yet they might easily be brought to embrace the True, Primitive Christian Religion, if it were but proposed to them to consider, that God hath alwaies preserved the Church of *Rome*, and firmly settled it in its own Proper Seat, and Power: whereas on the Contrary, all the Heresies of others have been successelesse, and could never get any Dominion, or Authority throughout Christendome: as appears by *Arius*, *Nestorius*, *Macedonius*, *Apolinarius*, and all other Authors of Heresies.

Now I do not know any thing that would cause those most Remote Kingdoms to admire us more, and that would sooner draw the Inhabitants of the same from their Superstitions, and would besides weaken them too, and make them unapter for War, then if the Knowledge of the *Liberal Arts*, the *Languages*, *Philosophy*, and the *Mathematicks* were carried thither from hence, by some of our Western Professors of the same; because that

Minnit vires, nervosque Minerva.

Minerva's quiet Arts

Take off, and Chill our hearts.

Let the King therefore take care, that Forraigners may be exercised only in Idle, Umbratil Sciences, and Light, toyish matters, and Pastimes: but in the mean time let Him keep His own Natural Subjects to the exercise of their Armes also, together with those forenamed Sciences: by which Means He may still be victorious.

But

But lastly, (that we may return to our former discourse, touching the *Persians* aiding us against the Turks,) The *Persians*, having alwayes relyed wholly upon the Number, and Goodnesse of their Horse, have notwithstanding in the mean time, while they have been Victorious in the Open Field, yet lost their Cities at home. And therefore I say, they are to be advised to fortifie their Cities with Castles, and strong Holds every where. For the Turk, although he have been many times beaten by them, hath yet by litle and litle so entrenched himself about, as it were, with Garrisons, and Fortifications, made in all convenient places, that he hath by this means made himself Master of a very great part of the *Persians* Country, and hath possessed himself at last also of the great City *Tauris*, or *Ecbatan*. They must be taught therefore to make use of the same Arts in defending themselves, by which they have formerly been beaten.

CHAP. XXX.

Of the Great Turk, and his Empire.

Ywhat means the *Turk* endeavours to make himself Lord of the whole World, hath been, as I conceive, sufficiently declared before in this Treatise: and He will also at this time already be called, *The Universal Lord*; as the King of *Spain* is called, *The Catholick King*: so that these two Princes seem now to strive, which of them shall attain to the Universal Monarchy of the whole World. And therefore I think it not amisse to examine here, in what Particulars the one of them is either Inferiour, or superiour to the other.

The *Great Turk* is the most Absolute Lord of, and Heir to all the Goods that his subjects have, throughout his whole Empire: and not of their *Goods* only, but also of their *Persons*. And in this, He is worse then ever any Tyrant was; in that He arrogates all to Himself: and, because that although He calls all his People, His *Sons*; Yet He doth not, like a Father, suffer them

to inherit any thing; but only bestowes yearly upon every one of them as much as He thinks fit, appointing them withal the Employments that they shall serve him in. He hath also a Religion that is framed according to his own Will only, without taking the advise with him of any *Arch-Priest*. He hath likewise a most Able Souldiery; because that He takes all the likeliest boyes, and youths through all his Dominions, and breeds them up in *Seminaries*, erected for that purpose: and these He employes both in his wars abroad, and in peace at home; making some of them Souldiers, and others, Judges, and Noblemen also.

Neither hath He any Barons to stand in fear of; neither hath He any Brothers to share with Him in the Empire: For, the Eldest Son, coming to the Empire after his Fathers death, presently makes away with all his Younger Brothers. Neither can He want any Men: seeing that He permits every one of his subjects to take as many Wives to him as He is able to keep: so that neither Inheritance, nor Virginity are any hinderance to the Procreation of Children in his Territories. His custome is also in making his Wars, to go as it were round about in a circle, and so to deal with his Neighbouring enemies; neither leaving any enemy behind him, nor ever going farther from home one way then another, as hath been said before. And he hath besides an Admirable Art in his making his Cessations from Arms, and Truces with his Enemies; being sure alwayes to make them for his own Advantage.

Now the *Turk* is descended from *Iaphet*, by *Magog*; and he hath the Lawes of *Sem*, derived to Him by *Ishmael*; whence hath sprung *Mahumetanisme*. And of Him, God himself foretold *Agar*, that His hand should be against every man; and every mans hand against him: and, that He should dwell in the presence of all his brethren. And therefore we see, that He hath pitched his Tents at *Constantinople*, in the uttermost Angle of *Europe*, over against Us, who are his Brethren, descending from *Isaac*, who was both the Legitimate, and Natural Brother of *Ishmael*. For, as the *Spaniards* are descended from *Tubal*, so the *Turks* are descended from *Magog*; who were both the Sons of *Japhet*.

And truly the *Turk* doth put forth his hand every way, not only against all Christians, but also against *Mahumetans*, now here,

here, now there; one while on the right hand, and then on the left; and still goes away the Conquerour. He makes use also of another point of subtlety, which is, that so soon as ever He finds that we are at union amongst our selves, He then presently flies to making a Truce with Us: which notwithstanding he presently breakes off again, so soon as ever he sees us at dissention among our selves. And whensoever he is returned Victorious from one Countrey, He presently falls to the making of some other Expedition, either against the *Persians*, or the *Ethiopians* &c. as hath been shewed before.

And yet though all these things be thus, yet doth the King of *Spain* lay claime also to the Dominion of that Empire, or at least of part of it, and that by reason of his Fraternity, both Natural from *Japhet*, and also Legal proceeding from *Abraham*; but yet in respect of this Later, he hath the Preheminence above the Turk. For, he is descended from *Isaac*; from whom *Christ*, who is also God, is descended, the Cheif Law-giver of All; and He hath also thereby a general Promise made him, of the Universal Empire of the World.

And because He was Blessed also in *Abraham*, the last Kingdome of the Saints, which is to succeed after the end of the Four Monarchies and of which *Daniel* Prophefied, belongs unto him. But *Ismael*, from whom *Mahomet*, the Turks Law-giver, is descended, had no other promise made unto him, but that he should be an Absolute Lord, and a great and famous Warriour. Besides, both these Princes are a part of the *Roman* Empire; for after that the *Roman* Monarchy shall be at an end, there shall no other succeed it.

But according to *Esdra*s, the *German*, which is now the same that the *Spaniard*, (as hath been said before) is the *Right Head*, but the Turk is the *Left Head* of the *Imperial Eagle*; after that *Mahomet* fell off from the Emperour *Heracius*, during whose Reign the *Eagle* was divided: to whom notwithstanding there was no other promise made, but that He should Devour the Middle Head, namely, the *Constantinopolitan*; whereas the *Spaniard* hath this Promise made him, that he should devour the Left Head, that is to say, the Turk: as we have hinted formerly. And although that the *Spaniard* hath above him one that is a Clergy Man, and that is also Armed with the Temporal Sword; yet doth this make for his advantage, both in respect
of

of *Fate*, and of His State, as hath been written before ; for as much as the Spaniard, according to the example of *Cyrus*, hath under him the United Monarchy of the Saints ; and the Pope is also a most sure defence and Safe-guard to Him ; by whose Assistance, he is able to deal well enough with his enemies, both with spiritual, and Temporall weapons : and yet so, as that He may easily withal avoid the suspicion either of Covetousnesse or Profanenesse.

Now as concerning the Absolutenesse of Dominion, the Great Turk is herein much above the King of Spain. But yet I have formerly shewed, that this very thing, of his not caring to have any Barons, or Nobles under him, renders Him, and His Condition and State so weak, that if he should receive but one sound Blow onely in an open field Battel, it would so crush Him, as that he would never be able to hold up his Head again. Which cannot happen to the King of Spain ; because that His Nobles, and Bishops, and also the Pope himself would speedily in such a case send in Relief to Him. The Great Turk keeps under all the Great ones among his Subjects, least they should attempt any Innovation in the State, or act any thing to the Prejudice of His Monarchy ; as the Nobility of *France* did heretofore. But then in the mean time He doth so weaken them, that they are not able to yeild him any Relief or Aide at all, in case he should come to have need of it.

As concerning *Military Discipline*, and the Manner of making War, the Turk far excells the Spaniard, as I have before shewed: yet notwithstanding, if the King of Spain would but use all convenient diligence, and withal carefully observe those Rules, which I have here laid down before him ; He might, even in this Particular, surpasse the Turk ; and the rather, if so be He would but go himself in Person to the Wars.

And as for the number of Men, and of Souldiers, the Turk goes beyond the Spaniard ; and indeed in all his greatest expeditions, He hath ever done his businesse rather by his Numbers, then by valour. And yet his Subjects are divided amongst themselves in Religion ; and then besides, all the Lands of every Country are given in Fee only to the Principal Commanders of his *Militia* : whereas the King of Spain hath fewer Subjects

Subjects indeed in number; but yet they are more at unity among themselves. But I have already shewn how the Number of the King of Spains Subjects may be encreased, by their Marriages with Forraign Nations; and also how, by meanes of erecting Seminaries for the instructing of Youth both in learning, and the use of Armes, the Valour of his Souldiers may be encreased; the Neglect of making use of Which Meanes, hath been the cause, that the *Turk* hath overstript us in this particular.

As concerning the businesse of Mony, I conceive there is little or no odds on either side. But if the King of Spain would but proceed in that Absolute way of Power over his Subjects, that the *Turk* does over his; He might easily surpass him in Riches. The King, I confesse, wants Mony; but I have formerly shewed him, by what waies He might gather together Mony enough to maintain a war against the *Turk*. Now the *Turk* useth infinite Celerity and speed, in putting what ever designs He hath in execution, sparing no cost or charges for the providing of all things necessary for the same: so that with the present Mony that he hath in his Treasury He presently raiseth Men, and provides them Armes, and gets all things immediately in a readinesse, in order to the expedition He is upon; and when he hath laid out all the Mony that he had in his Treasurie, he then presently falls to filling it up again, by laying fresh Impositions and Taxes upon his Subjects.

It is a necessity, that is in a manner Peculiar to the *Turk*, of making War upon his Neighbours round about, and as it were in a Circle: for, they are all his enemies. But now, the condition of the Spaniard is otherwise. For, betwixt His Kingdome of *Naples*, and his Duchy of *Mislan*, there lye the Pope and the *Tuscans*; who are united unto him by the Tie both of Religion, and Friendship. He lies something remote indeed from the *Netherlands*, and the *West Indies*: which notwithstanding render him worthy the more admiration; because that, by reason of his Fleets, he lies as it were neer unto them: and by meanes of the same he may possibly in time make himself Master of those other Parts also which he hath not yet possessed himself of; as we shall shew hereafter. The King hath also this advantage, that although those Countries lye at so great a distance from one another; yet, by the Tie of Religion, they are all joyned to Spain,

Lastly, whereas in *Turky* the Eldest sons of the Emperours are wont alwaies to make away with their Younger brothers, this piece of Cruelty of theirs does but set a Note of Infamy upon them: and it may easily so fall out, that some One of these Younger Brothers may get away out of his Elder Brothers power, and may be able afterwards to make War upon his Brother. And we see that this had been like to have come to passe in *Gemes*, the Brother of *Bajazet*; who, having gotten out of prison, might have been able to have done his Brother very much Mischief, and, by the Assistance of the Christians, might have made his way into *Greece*, had he not, by the Arts his Brother *Bajazet* used, and by the treachery also of the Christians, been taken off by Poyson. And *Selim*, although He did not desire to make Himself Emperour, yet He made himself very strong; at first, only to preserve himself from being put to death; but afterwards, taking the Opportunity when it was offered him, He turned both his Father, and Brother out of the Empire, and commanded them to be both put to death: at which Juncture of Time, that Empire might very easily have been utterly subverted, and ruined. And truly I conceive, that the Total destruction of that Empire cannot be brought about any other way, then by this one thing; namely, their most bloody Cruelty that they Practise upon their nearest, and dearest Friends and Kindred. For, seeing that the great *Turk* takes as many Wives to himself as he pleases, and so gets an Infinite number of Sons by them; all which are most certainly assured, that, when ever their Eldest Brother comes to be Emperour, They shall be all of them murdered: it is very probable, that some time or other there may Civil Wars arise in that Empire, by which it may either be totally destroyed, or at least may be divided into many parts: which would give the *Turks* enemies an Opportunity of falling upon him, and so of ruining him. Neither need any one wonder, that this hath not as yet happened to this very day; seeing that this Empire is not of any so very long standing. For, *Ottoman*, who was the Founder of it, died but in the Year of our Lord 1328. in the time of Pope *Benedict XI*. And yet we know, that there have already been bloody Wars amongst them; which seems to confirm this our Prognostication; and makes me the willinge to give credit to *Torquatus* the Astrologer, who foretold that it would come to passe, that in the time of the Sixteenth

teenth Emperour of *Turky*, that Empire should fall to the ground: namely, when the *Moon*, which is the Ensign of that Empire, shall begin to decrease; that is to say, when It shall be divided into Two *Hornes*, by two of the Great *Turks* Sons rising up one against the other, and causing the Empire to be divided into Two parts: One of which Brothers, turning to Christianity, shall come over to the Christians. Now these Two *Hornes* signifie Two Kingdomes: for Kingdomes are oftentimes denoted by the *Ensigns*, or Armes of the same: as we see in the *Revelation of St. John*, where the Kingdomes themselves are from their *Insignia*, called sometimes Dragons, sometimes Eagles, and sometimes also Lions; and the Prophet *Jeremy* calleth the Kingdom of the *Assyrians* by the name of a *Dove*; because the *Assyrians* had the Figure of a *Dove* for their *Ensign*, or *Devise*.

Now in this Particular the *Spaniard* is much more happy then the *Turk*; because that His Sons do not fall out, or hate each other for any such Cause. Yea, we see at this day, that those of the House of *Austria*, partly by reason of this very thing, because they are Brothers, and Kindred, and partly also through fear of the other Christian Princes, and of the Hereticks, are at so much the greater Concord, and Agreement among themselves. And you shall scarce find more Brothers, or Kindred, in any one Princes Family, then in that of *Austria*; and yet have not these ever broken the Bond of Consanguinity one with another; nor have ever raised any Commotions in their Republick, through Ambitious Ends and Respects: but have, on the contrary, preserved each to other their Just Rights Untoucht, and have lived together in so Unshaken a Concord and Union, as that they seem to be so many Bodies, animated all with One Soul, and guided all by One Will.

We may adde hereto, that the Younger Brothers of this House have hopes either of being made Cardinals; or else of being Elected Kings of *Poland*, or of some of the other Forreign Elective Kingdoms: so that the House of *Austria*, by reason of the Multitude of Sons, growes the Greater; whereas the *Ottoman* House does, for the same reason, decrease every day more and more: not to say any thing, how much the *Turk's* Subjects are offended with this Tyranny of his.

Experience also testifies, that the Daughters of the House of *Austria* have, by their Marriages with other Princes, and the Inheritances,

heritances thereby fallen to them, very much advanced the Greatnesse of the *Austrian* Family, and have enlarged their Dominions in a wonderful manner: and besides, they have also caused the hearts of their Husbands, and of their Subjects, to encline to Our King: and of this we have a clear Example this day in the Wife of the Prince of *Transylvania*, and likewise in the Duke of *Savoy's*, and the King of *Poland's* Wife. And the women of the *Austrian* Family are also all of High Spirits, and are besides adorned with the Endowments of Vertue, and Gravity. Whereas, on the contrary, the Great *Turk* bestowing his Concubines only upon his own Slaves, and *Bassas*, (as they call them) gets himself no advantage at all from abroad; onely He hereby obligeth these men to be true and faithful to Him. And therefore my Opinion is, that it would be the best way for the King of *Spain*, never to marry a Wife out of the *Austrian* Family; unlesse He should thereby come to inherit some New Country: because that it would be much better, that those Daughters should be married abroad to Forreign Princes; that so they may turn the hearts and affections of their Husbands toward the King of *Spain*.

But seeing that, as hath been formerly said, the *Turk* stretcheth forth his hand against All Men; whence it comes to passe, that All men in like manner stretch forth their hands against Him; all whom yet he is frequently wont to delude by his Cessations from Armes, and Truces, (for He keeps his faith with none of them:) it would be a businesse worth our serious consideration, how this Practise of his might be turned against Himself. Which that it may the easilier be effected, the King of *Spain* should prevail with the *Persians*, to invade *Arabia* with a Sufficient Army, perswading them, that this would be the only means of securing their Own Territories; and possessing them withal with this perswasion, that the *Turk* is the Common Enemy, and that therefore he ought to be set upon on all sides to the uttermost of their power; least, after they have once overcome us Christians, They themselves should fall to be his next Prey: And then, that under a Pretense of Zeal for Religion, they should possesse themselves of the City of *Mecha*, where is the Sepulchre of *Mahomet*, who was the Head of their Empire: which Designs being but once happily, and Prosperously accomplished, that then all other things would the more easily be brought about.

Let

Let the King of *Spain* also take care, that there may be a League made betwixt the *Persian* and *Prester John*; and this Later should be perswaded to send out as great an Army as he could, to invade the Common Enemies, the *Turk's* Country; which Army should be carried over by the Red Sea, by meanes of the *Portugals* Fleet; or else, He may send those Forces of his in by Land: and that not onely to enlarge their Own Empire, and Dominion, but also for the Advancement of their Religion, namely, by recovering of *Jerusalem*, where the Sepulcher of our Saviour Christ is, which both We, and the *Ethiopians* too have now so many Ages been deprived of. Both Nations therefore ought to bend their whole Forces that way.

It would also be very Convenient, that the *Muscovite* (who should be perswaded to this by some *Polonian* Oratours) should at the same time fall in upon *Bulgaria*, and *Moldavia*, with an Army. And the King should so order the Matter, that at one and the same time the Emperour, and the Prince of *Transylvania* should fall upon him in *Hungary*, and the *Polander* upon *Macedonia*, and *Mysia*: that the *Turk* being by this means so distracted, may not know which part to relieve first. The *Georgians* also should be secretly dealt withal, to embrace this General Association, by the *Venetian* Merchants, and to fall upon *Natolia*, and *Trapezind*, or *Macedonia*. And for the promoting of this Design, it would be very convenient, that every one should keep to himself what he hath got; except *Jerusalem* only; which should be reserved for the King of *Spain*: of which Country the King also should shortly afterward by little and little get the Possession, by making use of the Conveniency of the Red Sea.

I would also advise, that the King of *Spain*, and the *Venetian*, together with the Pope, entring into a Mutual League together, should at the same time also fall upon *Morea*, *Cyprus*, or *Egypt*: for which purpose such a *Neapolitan* Fleet, as we have formerly spoken off, would be of very excellent use and Advantage. And afterwards, they should divide such Countries and Places, as they have taken, and share them among themselves, making the Pope their Judge, and Arbitrator herein. And this Association and League made betwixt the aforesaid Princes, I would have to last for the space of whole ten years. For by this means the *Turk* having his hands full at home, would be taken off from making War upon the Christians in the West, as he now does,

to the great detriment of the House of *Austria*.

And to this end, it would be very Expedient, that there were a League made both with the *Persians* and *Prester John*: for these People might very much annoy the Western Countries. And this would also make very much for the Advantage of the *Venetians* too, who stand in no small dread of the Turks; whom, because they are not able to match them in Power, they are fain to pacifie and keep quiet by fair means, and Presents.

There are some that are of opinion, that there are two ways by which an Association, or League might be made by the Christians against the Turk, if not for his total ruine, yet at least to the bringing about of some very good effect. And One of these is, that all such Princes, whose Territories border upon *Turky*, should at one and the same time set all upon him, every one of them invading that part of the Turks Dominions that lies next him, not with any certain part only of his Forces, but with the whole strength and Power that he can possibly make in the World: for so, all of them should enjoy an equal share in the spoiles that were taken.

The second, and that the more Noble, is, if that very many several Princes would but resolve, for the glory of God, and the Propagation of the Church, to set upon the Turk, either altogether from one part, or else from diverse parts all at once: as we read to have been done in those former Heroick times, when as many several Valiant Princes, out of *Germany*, the *Netherlands*, *France*, and *Italy*, some of them selling their Territories outright, and others of them pawning the same, gathered together an Army of above forty Thousand Men, and marching with them into the Eastern Countries, and there beating the Turks out of *Nice*, the *Persians* out of *Antioch*, and the *Saracens* out of *Ierusalem*, they afterwards laid wast the whole East, and in a short time recovered the *Holy Land*. In which Expedition this especially is to be taken notice of, that neither the Emperour himself, nor any other King, was either their General, or so much as went along with them in it. And notwithstanding that afterwards indeed the Kings of *France*, and of *England*, as also the Emperours, *Conrade*, and *Frederick*, made several expeditions into those parts, not for the taking in of any New Countries, but only for the keeping of what the others had formerly gotten; yet for all there was not any thing at all done by them, worth the speaking of.

But

But now there ought to be care taken, in this businesse, that all may share alike in what shall be gotten: for otherwise, the Design would be quite spoiled, and never come to any thing. For, as in a Clock, if there be any one Exorbitant, or Irregular Wheel, it spoiles the whole Harmony, and mutual Agreement that should be in it: so likewise, in all Associations, if there be any Deficiency in one Part, it proves to be the cause of the Dissolution of the whole Union.

A clear example whereof we have in the League that was made betwixt the Popes, *Paul III.* and *Pius V.* the King of Spain, and the *Venetians*: which though it were managed with the greatest diligence, and eagerneffe on all sides that could be, and with Incredible successe also; yet it came all to nothing at last; and that meerly for this one reason, namely, because that it did not equally concern the Interests of all of them, that That Expedition should be so carefully undertaken, and so diligently carried on. For, Spain hath no great advantage by any thing that is done against the Eastern People; which yet is most beneficial to the *Venetians*: in like manner as it is of little or no concernment to the *Venetians*, what ever is done against *Africk*, which yet is of very great advantage to Spain.

And this is the reason, that the *Venetians*, who stand in fear of the Power the Turk hath in the East; and the Spaniards who are afraid of their Neighbours of *Algier*, can never unanimously go on together against the Enemy, with equal courage, and desires. And by this means the Pope, lying in the meantime in the midst betwixt them both, and being forced to be at a great charge, yet hath no benefit at all thereby. But to return to our Present discourse again, whence we have digressed.

There is yet another way, whereby the Turkish Empire might be overthrown; and that is, in case that some one of His Chief Commanders in war, who was at first a Christian (such as were *Cicala*, *Occbiali*, and *Scanderbeg*) should be prevailed withal, by such large Promises as should be made him, as namely, that he should have some Christian Province given him for his reward,) to betray the Turkish Navy unto us, if at least He have it committed to his charge: or else, in case he hath been appointed by the Great Turk to manage any Kingdom under him, as His *Viceroy*; he should then have the possession

of that Kingdom promised him ; as suppose, of *Tunis, Algier*, or the like. For there is no doubt to be made, but that such a one had rather be the Sole Absolute Lord of any Kingdom, whatsoever it be, and so to have the Power of transmitting it over to his Posterity ; then to be but a kind of Nobler Slave to the Great Turk ; having neither Power in his life time to give away any thing to his friends ; nor at his death to leave any thing to them, And I am verily perswaded, that there is nothing that keeps these men from attempting such a Rebellion against the Turk, more, then because they dispaire of ever being able to bring any such their Undertakings to effect ; as not daring to confide in the Christians, or to rely upon them for Assistance. Yet if they were but sincerely, and Ingenuously dealt withal, I am clearly of opinion, that they might be brought to this.

It may also so happen, that some such Gallant Vindicator of the Peoples Liberty may spring up among the Turks themselves, as was *Moses*, the Hebrew, among the Subjects of *Pharaoh*, King of *Egypt* ; and such a One, in case the Great Turk should entrust him with any great Authority, or Charge, might questionlesse be able to do him an infinite deal of Mischief. There might also a General Association be made amongst the Christians ; by whom He might be brought to a Pitch'd Battel ; (as we said before) and might have one or two such Notable Blowes given him by them, that he should be never able to hold up his head again : because that he hath not any Nobles, that might relieve him in such a case. And this might the more easily be done, because that he hath within his Dominions an Infinite Number both of *Christians*, and *Jewes*: who, if they but once saw him overthrown, would all presently come over to Us. And yet in the procuring of such an Association as this, there would be required either very much Patience in the Pope, and the King of Spain ; or else a very great necessity, that should force All of them to joyne together.

Now these Princes should all be bound, by mutual Covenants drawn up betwixt them, that every one of them should have a Proportionable Share of what soever shall be gotten by the said expedition ; and also that those that have gotten possession of their own share, shall assist the rest also in the getting of theirs ; after the Example of *Reuben*, and *Dan* : who after they had possessed themselves of the Country that lay on this side *Jor-*
dar,

dan, were then to assist their brethren in the subduing of the further part of it, that lay beyond *Jordan*:

There ought also to be a persuasion wrought into All, and every one of these Princes, that by the King of *Assyria*, in the Scriptures, is prefigured unto us the Great Turk: who, after he hath destroyed the Kingdom of *Israel*, that is to say, the Kingdom of the *East*, or that of *Constantinople*; He will then next overthrow the Kingdom of *Judah*, that is, of the *West*; except they repent them of their Heresy, and return again into the Bosome of the Church of *Rome*, which is our *Jerusalem*: (as I have written in my *Christian Monarchy*) and that so, together with the *Empire*, the *Priesthood* also will be lost, and will passe over into the New World, (as I have there demonstrated by Political Reasons,) except they take the Course here set down before them. And perhaps also it may hereafter so come to passe. And when the Turk, who is the *Typical Cyrus*, is destroyed, then shall the Church be renewed again. It is therefore most Necessary, that all Christendom should joyn their forces together, for the destruction of this Ravenous Wolf, who by his Strength, and Cunning, hath taken from us Two Empires, and Two Hundred Kingdomes; mean while that we do nothing but fall together by the Eares, one with another. But if this cannot be brought about, the *Persians* must then be persuaded to joyn with the *Ethiopians*, *Muscovites*, and *Polonians*, as hath been said before. And I do believe also, that the Great *Turks* *Bassas*, and other of his Subjects would quickly be got to fall off from him, if so be they could but be once fully perswaded & assured, that they should each of them really be made the absolute Lords of what they now possessed. All which things ought to have their Accomplishment in the death of this *Mahomet III.* now Raiguing, seeing that That Number is Fatal. The Great *Turks* Younger Sons also are to be seized upon, and convey'd away, least the Eldest Brother should Murder them according to their usual Custome: and this the *Venetians* may do conveniently enough by their Merchants; or else the same may be committed to the Christian Slaves that are there, to be done by them.

After that this Empire shall be thus weakned, and divided, it would be convenient then to send thither some Preachers, who should endeavour to convince the Natives of their Error. There should care also be taken by all means for the bringing

of Printing into *Turky*; by means whereof that People may be taken off from the exercise of Arms, and may apply themselves to Books; and by being taken up with Disputations concerning Points of Divinity, and Philosophy, both of the *Peripateticks*, *Stoicks*, *Platonists*, and *Telefians*, they may be divided amongst themselves, and so be the more weakned. For, those that give themselves to the study of Books onely, usually become a Prey to such as apply themselves to the exercise of Armes, and the study of the Arts too: as we see in the example of *Athens*, which became a Prey to the *Lacedemonians*; both which Nations *Philip*, King of *Macedon*, by the force of his Armes afterwards subdued, being first instructed by *Epaminondas* by what means this was to be effected. *Cato* was wont to say, that the *Romans* would lose their Empire, so soon as ever they should begin to apply themselves to the study of the Greek Tongue, and Sciences. This the Great Turk, who is wiser then We are, knew very well; and therefore preferred rather the exercise of Armes, and got him great Guns, and Slaves; I mean, those Jewes, that were sent to him by *Ferdinand*, the last King of *Arragon*: for he knew very well, what, and how great Advantage might be made by Slaves; and that the Children that they should beget, were to be brought up in the exercise of Armes, and the knowledge of Military Affaires.

But then, on the contrary, He would not receive, nor accept of those *Printing-Presses*, and *Letter*, for the Printing of the *Arabick* Tongue, that were sent Him by the great Duke of *Tuscany*; because he would not have his Dominions filled with Books, because that would much take off the Military Valour of his Subjects; and besides, because that *Mahumetanisme*, by frequent Disputations about it, might easily in a short time have been overthrown.

It hath also been very prejudicial unto Us, that we have had no Law made for the Injoyning of *Silence*; whereby we should have been commanded to conceal some things from others: which Law certainly would have been of very good use. But now adaies in *Germany* all things are made Publick, and laid open to the whole World: and hence it is, that we see every one there publisheth in Print a New *Bible*; and that the Empire goes to ruine, and that all places are overwhelmed with Luxury, and Riot. And, had not the fear of the King of Spain's Armies kept the
Netherlanders

Netherlanders in Awe, they also would by this time have been as Effeminate, and Luxurious as the *Germans* are. And the like would have befallen to the *English* also. So that we might have hopes, that unlesse there were a War maintained amongst them, to keep them in exercise, they would all quickly come to utter ruine; after that they should but once come to be Effeminate. Heart-lesse, and at discord one with another; as we have said formerly: and that so much the rather, because that the Heresie they professe, seeing it denyes the *Freedom* of the *Will*, is repugnant to all Principles of *Policy*. Now all Heresies, when they are once gone so far as to Atheisme, are reduced again into the way of Truth by some Wise Prophet or other; such as were in *Italy*, *Thomas Aquinas*, *Dominicus*, *Scotus*, and others. For, Heresies also have their Periods, as well as States; which fall first, from being governed by good Kings, into the hands of Tyrants; from their Tyranny, into an Aristocracy, from thence into an Oligarchy, and so at length to a Democracy; and in the end they shift about again, and in a Circle, as it were, return again to their first form, either of a Kingdom, or a Tyranny.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the Other Hemisphere, and of the New World.



He Admirable Discovery of the *New World* (which was foreseen by *St. Briggis*, and expressly foretold by *Seneca*, in his *Medea*, and there lively set forth in its proper Colours and Names, according as he had received the same from one of the *Sibylls*,) hath been the cause that this Hemisphere of Ours hath been thereby rapt into the greatest Admiration that can be. For, some of the Ancientest among the Philosophers, of which numberw as *Xenophanes*, were of Opinion, that That *Other Hemisphere* lay all covered over with Water; some others, as *Laëtantius*, and *St. Augustine*, thought that the Earth was not a Perfect *Globe*, about which the Sun was carried in his Diurnal Motion. And some others believed, (among whom was *Dante*,)

that those Countries were Inhabited, and were a certain kind of Earthly Paradise. Some there were that doubted hereof; amongst whom was *Aristotle*: and again some others of them confidently affirmed, that the Earth was an Absolute and Perfect *Orbe*, or *Globe*: and of this number were *Plato*, and *Origen*. And therefore it is but for just cause, that all the World admires the *Spanish* Monarchy, as both very Daring, and very Powerful; seeing that It hath measured, and overcome so many Seas, and in a short space of time hath put a girdle about the vast *Globe* of the Whole Earth: which neither *Carthage*, nor *Tyre* were ever heretofore able to do; nor yet the wisest of All Men, King *Solomon*: whose Fleet, making its Voyage as far as *Goa* only, and *Taprobane*, spent alwaies three whole years in the same; which yet Our Seamen now adaies perform in three Moneths time. So that, although the Vast distance of place, that there is betwixt the several parts of the *Spanish* Monarchy, seems to render It Weak; yet doth their Admirable Skill in Navigation, for the shortening of those Distances, together with those other Means of Uniting these Parts, which the *Spaniards* daily do make use of, or, may make use of, when they please, make the same most Illustrious, and more Admirable, then some perhaps do imagine. However, to the end that the King of *Spain* may not onely keep what He hath already gotten, but may also enlarge his Empire; I shall here give in a Catalogue of such Errours as have been heretofore committed, in reference to the managing of his Affaires in the *New World*; and shall shew, that they ought with all speed to be corrected, and taken out of the way; laying down withal those waies and Means, by which the Kings Power in those Parts may yet be enlarged.

When that the *Spaniards*, directing their Course through the Western Ocean, were now first arrived in the *New World*; the Natives beheld them with Astonishment, and Wonder; and, having never dreamt of any other World but their Own, believed verily Those Men to have dropt-down from Heaven; and conceived them to be the *Sons of the Clouds*, by reason of the Thundering Noyse they made with their Guns: And then again they heard, with Trembling, and fear, *Speaking Papers*, and *Writings*: all which things likewise even Our selves at first wondred at, as well as they. For, neither had We All these things upon a sudden, all together, and in one and the same instant of time presented.

presented to Us, as they were then to Them : and besides, Assuetudine makes all the most Unusual things at length Familiar to Men. In a word, They could not choose but have all yielded themselves up freely, and of their own accord, to the *Spaniards*, who, as they were really perswaded, were all *Gods* ; had not They themselves, by their own Dissolute and Corrupt Life, removed all such Opinion of Divinity far from them, by their Cruelty, and Covetousnesse in hunting after the *Indians* Gold, which they themselves regarded not : insomuch that the Natives were faine to betake themselves to the Mountains, and to defend themselves against them as well as they could. And this is the reason, that the *Spaniards* could never make themselves Masters of the whole Country of *Pernana*, (which is half as big again as all *Africa*) but were faine to keep about the Sea Coasts, and those Plain and Open Countries that border upon the same ; nor could ever get any farther Northward then *Florida*, *New Spain*, and *New France*, *Baccalaos*, and the Country about *Mexico*, but were alwaies repulsed by the Natives. Whence it plainly appears, that the *Spaniards* ought at the first to have cherished that good Opinion which the *Indians* had all generally conceived of them, by their Innocent, and Vertuous Life : for, by this means, they must needs have become Masters of the whole Country. And besides, they should have openly professed, and made it known to all, that They were really the Sons of *God*, and not of the *Clouds* ; and were sprung from a much Nobler Seed, and were endowed with an Immortal Soul : and that it was *God*, that had created both the Heavens and the Earth, and that disposeth of, and governeth all things according to his own will and pleasure : and that by how much the more Noble any Creature is, (such as are *Men*, who are His Sons, being created after His Image,) so much the Greater, and more Vigilant Care hath He over Them, then over the rest. So likewise they should have informed them further, how that All Men sinned in their disobedient First Parent, *Adam*, whom they have ever since imitated in that which is Evil, rather then that which is Good : Yet notwithstanding, that *God*, who is the Father of All, loved them so dearly, that He found out a Means of calling them back again to His Worship, and of translating them at length even into Heaven it self, sending amongst them *Abel*, *Enoch*, and others to instruct them. But, that They, growing continually Worse and Worse,

Worse, provoked God, their Father, to wrath ; who therefore suddenly swept them all away, except One only Family, by an Universal Deluge. And, that it is the Same God, that by putting a vast Sea betwixt them, had divided Their World from Ours, which very thing was asserted heretofore by *Plato*, where he speaks of the *Atlantick Ocean*. And, that *Noah* sent over Colonies into their Countries, and peopled that whole Tract of Land, from *Peru*, as far as *Baccaleos* with Inhabitants. And that afterwards the whole Progeny of *Noah*, within the compasse of which the *Indians* themselves are comprehended, sinned also ; except some few of them only : and that God sent afterward among them also Other Instructors ; as *Moses*, and others : whom, when the World believed not, that then God himself took Humane Flesh upon Him, and out of the Infinite Love that he bare us, put on Our Nature ; that so, making use thereof, as of an Instrumental Means, He might the more Effectually teach us, what way we must take, for to go to Heaven ; and how that Truth is to be observed in all things : (And all these things should have been instilled into them by friendly Perswasions, and fair Means ; and not by force of Arms :) : And lastly, that God himself in his own person, and by his own Example confirmed all things that He ever taught ; and laid down a Pattern before Us, according to which We ought to walk in this life.

And that, after He had taught us, that we ought not to be terrified, or affrighted from the Worship of our God, even by threats and Death ; Himself first underwent Death, suffering it by the hands of Cruel Tyrants, to the end that we might be encouraged to follow his steps : and that, Rising again the third day from the Dead, He ascended up into Heaven, leaving behind Him his Vicar upon Earth, who is called by the name of The *Pope* ; who sits in His *Tribunal*, being endowed with Celestial Wisdom ; being assisted also by many most Valiant Princes, who all maintain the Divine Truth ; among whom the King of *Spain* is the Chief. And, that now God, being moved with compassion towards Them, who were all Idolaters, and Violaters of the Law of Nature, had sent their Brethren the *Spaniards*, to convert them, and to bring them back again into the way of Truth, and by means of the Pope, and of the King of *Spain* (from which Country Their World was divided at first by the Flood) to bring them home to Him : Adding further, (and saying.)
that

that, God hath given us skill to build Ships, and to tame Horses, and command the Sea; and hath shewed us how to make *Vocal, Speaking Papers*; that so, the *Indians* seeing all these things, might the more readily believe us. And that we are able, besides these things, to do any other such Miracles as He himself did, when He was upon Earth; as namely, Healing the sick, Raising the Dead to life, if so be that we be but Obedient to his commands, and be Baptized with water, in the Name of the Only One God, and be cleansed from Our Sins by His Invisible Grace. And that He hath given us these Arms, to punish all those, that should endeavour to hinder the Propagation of the Truth.

Some such Prologue as this should have been used, to winne upon them at first: and they should also have made choise among the *Indians* of some such, as by their looks they should have guessed to have been the fittest to be instructed in this Doctrine, and should have instilled the same into them: and should afterwards have sent them, like the woman of *Samarita* in the Gospel, to call their Countrymen, and fellow Citizens, and should have used them with all gentleness, and courtesie, and without either Cruelty, or Covetousnesse. And they should besides have perswaded them, that They regarded Gold as little as the *Indians* themselves did; and that they made use of It only by way of Exchange for other things; and desired to have it, without any Covetous mind at all; letting the *Indians* see withall, that they brought them *Iron* for their *Gold*; which is a much more useful Mettal, both for the Manuring of the Earth, and also for the defence of Mans Life it self.

And then, after all things had been thus carried, they should have presently clapt abroad their ships as many of the Natives as they could, under pretense of some such Command, given from Heaven, to the Pope and the King of Spain; into whose Dominions they should have carried them, and have disposed of them in Colonies dispersed up and down through *Africk*; from whence they should afterwards have been conveyed over into *Spain*, to be made to labour there, and to till the ground, and to be instructed in Mechanick Arts; mean while that the *Spaniards* themselves should follow their exercise of Arms, and so by degrees shall subdue their whole Country.

But now, the *Spaniards* that first landed in those parts, were
meer

meer Rude, Boysterous Souldiers; and such as knew not of how great force the Opinion of Divinity, once raised in the minds of men, is, towards the subduing of them. But they, as if they had been come into an Enemies Country, fell immediately to hunt after their Gold, and to pillage them of what they could; making it plainly appear, that they took little care of the saving of the poor *Indians* Souls; and yet though they never had prepared them at all by preaching Christ to them before hand, yet how ever they would needs by threats fright them into Christianity, and force them to be Baptized, and to believe that Christ was Crucified for them. Which things certainly at the first sight, could not chuse but seem to them to be most Absurd; as Namely, that *Water* was able to bring any one to Heaven; or, that God could die: and so by this means They at the very first became a *Stumbling Block* unto All of them, as the Apostle *Paul* speaks, by not observing that Apostolical Rule; *Prædicate hominibus*, Preach to All men.

By this means therefore the *Spaniards* comming to be repulsed by the Natives, they Presently fell to killing of them: so that the Natives betaking themselves to the Mountains, the *Spaniards* then fell to hunt after Men, no otherwise then they used to hunt after Wild Beasts; and returning home at night, they made their brags how many *Indians* each of them had killed that day: and so by this means, they in a short time laid that Country, for the space of three Thousand Leagues together, utterly Wast, and voyd of Inhabitants; never considering at all, that by the common Tie of Humanity they were their Brethren whom they had so Barbarously destroyed; and that we are All of us descended from *Noah*; and therefore that all that are not Baptized, are not presently to be accounted no better then Beasts.

But by this means it came to passe, that the miserable Wretches, seeing that *Gold* was so highly esteemed by the *Spaniards*, & indeed was more accounted of then the Men themselves; they grew to be very much offended at them, and said, that The *Spaniards* desired to bring them under their subjection, only by the *Sprinkling* of a little *Water* upon them, (meaning that of Baptisme) but that their Domision over them, would be the very same with that of the *Wolfe* over the sheep, only to worry them, and tear them in pieces.

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They retired themselves therefore to the Mountains; and from thence afterwards issuing out, they have sometimes got the better of the Spaniards; in so much that to this very day, having now pretty well learnt how to deal with them, they have the courage to come out against them with their Armes; no longer reverencing them as Gods, but driving them away, and chasing them as so many Ravenous Wolves.

And from hence sprung up another Mischeif also; which is, that Spain, which it self was very bare of Men, was notwithstanding forced to send over Colonies into those Parts: and yet for all this, the plain truth of the businesse is, that the Souldiers that were there, were so inconsiderable for their Number, in respect of that Vast Tract of ground, as that they were very hard put to it, to keep what they had got. For the taking off of which fear from themselves, they fell to Slaughter, and to kill up the Natives out of the way: which is an argument of the greatest Ignorance, and Cruelty that can be.

So that I am clearly of opinion, that the King of Spain should make it His businesse rather to people those parts, and to encrease the number of the Inhabitants; then to enrich himself only with the Gold and Silver that is fetched away from thence; if so be He look after his Own greatest Advantage, and would continue Lord of that Country. And therefore I would have him in the first place to take order, that there be a Catechisme made, and published in the Language of the Country; whereby the people there might be instructed, first of all, in the Principles of the *Law of Nature*, and of *Gods Providence*.

Then would I have a History to be compiled from the Creation of the World down to Christ, and so continued on to Our times; which should be written in a brief, Compendious Way; according to that short Form which I have laid down in few words, in my Preface to this Discourse; and after the example of the Fathers of the Church, who in converting the Heathens to the Christian Faith, made use of the like Compendious Method; as, for instance, *Clemens*, and *Lactantius* did: and not such Prolixe, tedious Formes, as our Modern Writers use now a dayes.

There should also be chosen, out of such of the Natives as are instructed in the Principles of the Christian Faith, some, who should take upon them the Office of Priests, and Preachers;

and these should be sent abroad among the rest of their Countrymen, that keep about the Mountaines, (to whom the Spanish Preachers cannot come) and should offer them their Brotherly Assistance; and should tell them what things the Pope, and the King of Spain, as in the Name of God, would have them informed of; and withal, how grievously, and severely God had punished our World, by Heresies, and *Mahumetanism*, onely for the former Inhumanity, and Cruelty used by the Souldiers towards Them: And that now the King hath sent again to them the second time such Persons, as should with all mildnesse and gentlenesse invite them to receive the Christian Religion. And with these should be joyned also some of Our Preachers; who, after that they had faithfully, and Effectually discharged their Office there, should then be preferred to be Bishops, or Abbats; that so, others, by their example, might be encouraged to do the like; and also that those People might know, and see, that great Honors are by us proposed to such men, as we send over to them, to teach and instruct them.

And it seems also to be very Necessary to institute some certain Order of *Preachers of the New World*, to be expressly known by that name; seeing that the Businesse seems altogether to require it. And the King of Spain must also take care rather, how that Country may be made Populous, & full of Inhabitants, then how the Natives may be all rooted out. And such among them, as will not be converted to Christianity, He may make Slaves; after the examples of the *Romans*; and *Lucullus*, who alone had forty thousand Slaves of his own, by whose meanes he dug down nine Mountaines, and laid them level with the plain ground; and these Slaves the King of Spain may put to row in his Gallies. But as for those that shall embrace the Christian Faith, they may be put to learn Mechanical Occupations, as Smiths, and Carpenters, and the like; that so the Spaniards themselves may not need to look after any thing else, but wholly to mind the exercising of themselves in Military Affaires; following herein the example of *Cræsus* King of *Lydia*, whose Custome it was, to put all such Prisoners as he had taken in War, to learn the trades of Carpenters, and Smiths; but to keep his own subjects close to their Armes onely. I think it fit therefore, that a great number of those Indians should be transported over into Spain, and *Africk*, and should be set to build

build great Cities all along upon the Coast of *Africk*, and of *Asia*; the strong Holds, and Government of which Cities should be put into the hands of Spaniards onely; but the tilling of the Ground, and the Mechanical Arts should be left to the Indians to follow, or to some other the like Slaves of the Spaniards, that should also be Christians. And when any of the *Indian* Kings should chance to be converted, and transported over into Spain, they should have Baronies conferred upon them there, that so the Spanish Empire might thereby be rendred the more Glorious; and that the *Indians* also might by this means be brought by degrees to love us, and our Countries.

And if the King of Spain had but observed all these Rules, He might at this day have been possessed of larger Territories, both in *Africk*, and *Asia*; and Spain also would have been more Populous, and strong, and the New World much Richer then it is. And therefore in my Opinion, it is the most Absurd thing in the World, for the King to make those parts a Treasury to supply Him with Gold & Silver only, and not rather with Men; seeing that these later are, of the two, of much the greater Value.

Now of those Indians being brought up to Trades, and coming in progresse of time to be sufficiently Hispaniolized. the King may make Souldiers also: as the Turk is used to do with such of our Children as he takes to bring up in his Turkish way of life. Then would I have in each severall Province of the New World, an *Austrian* Seminary to be set up, for the training up of Young Souldiers; who should acknowledge no other Father, save the King onely; and another Seminary for Women; of which we spake formerly; and likewise another for Mariners; of which I shall speak more hereafter. And by this meanes it would so come to passe, that within lesse then Thirty years, the King would so abound with Faithful Domestic Servants of his own, that He would have no further need to make use either of Auxiliaries, or Mercenary Souldiers; and He would hereby also winne the hearts of the Indians to him, when they shall see their Children to be brought up in so Liberal and Ingenuous a way of Education, and shall find them nothing so Rude, and Ill-behaved as they were before; and so they will the more readily yield to serve the Spaniard.

Lastly, seeing that That part of the World is at so vast a distance from this of ours, it is necessary that these Parts should

be united, and joyned together as much as possibly can be, for as much as there is no Empire but is lame, and Imperfect without this Union.

The first sort of Union is, True Religion: and therefore there ought to be strong Castles, and Block-houses erected upon all Havens, and Mouths of Rivers; least the English breaking into these Parts, should bring in Heresy: whereby the whole Design of the Spaniard would be utterly frustrated, and come to nothing. And besides, there should be nothing had in greater Reverence, where any of these People are in Presence, then the very name of the Pope; that so they may be kept the faster to our Religion. And they should be brought also to sue to us, and to desire us to prescribe them some Rule of Living here, and also the Meanes of attaining to Eternal Life hereafter.

In the Second Place, the King of Spain must make himself Absolute Lord of those Countries; for if there should but any other Christian be chosen King in that Part of the World; Our King were then quite lost. Now there is none that He need to fear in that point, unlesse it be some Principal Noble Man; especially, if it should chance to be such a one, as is descended lineally from some of those Worthies, that were the First Discoverers of this New World; as, namely, if he should be descended from *Columbus*, who first of all discovered these Parts; or else from *Cortezius*. So that it seemes to be necessary, that such as have performed such gallant peices of Service, should be rewarded indeed with very great Honours; and Preferments: but then it should not be in those Countries, that they themselves had subdued. For we know that *Marquesse Vaglio*, who was Nephew to *Columbus*, was once very near being chosen King; And even the Vice-Roys themselves, (as they call them) might easily make themselves Kings, if they pleased. And therefore none but some Principal Nobleman, that hath great Revenues of his own either in Spain, or Italy, is to be placed as Ruler of the New World; or at the least, some Cardinal, or Bishop, that hath many kindred here with us. The keeping of all strong Holds also, and Castles, is to be committed to some Garrison Captains, who are to expect their reward from the King; and the Vice-Roys are to live, not in any of the strong Holds, but in Cities: and it must be so ordered, that those that are the Commanders of the strong Holds and Castles, and the Vice-Roys, may be as much

much at variance and discord, as possibly may be. Over such Countries as have been conquered by Portugals, there should be placed Spanish Governours; and so on the Contrary; thus uniting the two Kingdomes the more; and by this meanes the Kingdom will be the more happily, and the more safely administered. Clergy men should also be frequently sent to these strong Holds and Castles, to take a view of them; and especially the *Capuchins*. The Authority also, of Particular men is to be restrained; neither ought too great a Power to be granted to any One man, in any matters that are of very great Moment and consequence; but these should be transacted by the Personal, joynt consent of all, or at least by signifying the same by their Letters, In like manner as all things that concern the Kings Interest in *Italy*, are by a very wise course therein taken, appointed to be considered of by the Kings Embassadour, lying Lieger at *Rome*, the Vice-Roy of *Naples*, and the Governour of *Millan*.

The Third sort of Union is of Goods: and therefore my Opinion is, that the King should do well to divide every New-discovered Country among the common People, and Maimed Spaniards, according to the Ancient Roman Law, called *Lex Agraria*; joyning with them also such *Africans*, and *Indians*, as he had, not long before, transported into *Africk*; but still under this Condition, namely that None of them all shall account what he possesses to be his own proper Goods; but must reckon upon all to be the Kings; save onely what belongs to the Clergy. And Fields, Castles, and Offices are to be frequently taken from those that hold them, and to be disposed of to others; that so the Eyes of all may be upon the King onely, in whose gift, and at whose disposal all these things are: yet the fruits of the Earth of every mans Land they may gather and enjoy as their own.

There should also Judges be appointed out of the Clergy, who should assign every man what is his Due; and should allot so much for the Maintenance of the Clergy, so much for to pay Souldiers, and so much to be paid to the King for a Tribute. And these Judges should take care to see, that no *Spanish* Souldier shall possesse any thing as his own, save only his Armes; unlesse it be by chance some small Orchard, or Garden, for to recreate himself in: but they shall all be maintained at the Publick Charge.

Charge. And as for such sons of Souldiers, as shall not be fit to serve in the Wars, they may be put to the Plough; and in their places, to the end that the whole Power may still be solely the Kings, there may be some such chosen out among the Husbandmen, as shall be thought most fit for that purpose, and may be trained up to the use of Armes. And thus shall all things be ordered according to the Kings own wish, and desire; and the King himself also shall be beloved above all things; neither will his Subjects desire to have any ample Possessions, seeing they all depend upon Military service only, by means whereof they are daily enlarged. And when it shall be thought convenient so to do, there may be Vines, and the Seeds of other things sent over to them; that so they may have wherewithal to delight themselves: but yet, let them be so sparingly furnished with these things, as that they may alwaies stand in need of us for their support. For, if that the use of Vines, the liberty to till the ground, and the exercise of Armes, together with the use of Printing, and the Building of Ships should be denied them; the King might thereby easily incur the Suspicion of Tyranny.

In the most convenient places of that Hemisphere there should be erected Schools for the study of *Astronomy*, the *Mathematicks*, the *Mechanical*, and other Arts and Sciences; as hath been formerly shewed: that so the *Constellations* of the Heavens, and the Seas, and Countries of that Part of the World may be the more fully discovered, and made known.

I would not have either the Kings, or lesser Princes of any of those Countries to be killed; but rather to be carried over into *Spain*: For, that will both adde to the Majesty of the *Spanish* Empire; and will also very much win upon the Affections of the *Indians*.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of Navigation.



Ut now, for the better preserving of this Dominion of the *New World* entire to himself, the King of *Spain* had need to build him a great number of *Woodden Cities*, and to put them out to Sea; which being laden with Commodities, may continually passe to and fro betwixt this and the *West-Indies*; and by being perpetually abroad, and so scouring those Seas, may hinder the *English*, and others, from making any Attempts that way. For the performing of which Design, the King of *Spain* will have need of very many Ships, which should also be very well Manned, with a sufficient number of Sea-men; which should sayl about to the *New World*, and round about *Africk*, *Asia*, *Calicut*, *China*, *Japan*; and the Islands adjacent; subduing all where ere they come.

And all this might easily be effected, if that the King would but give his mind to gather *Men* together, rather then *Mony*: seeing that it appears evidently enough, that in those Expeditions of his against *England*, the *Netherlands*, and *France*, He was utterly frustrate, and failed of his designs, meerly through his trusting too much to his *Mony*, and his want of Able Souldiers.

First of all therefore in all the Islands of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, the *Canaries*, those of the *Archipelago*, *St. Lazaro*, in *Hispaniola* likewise, and the *Philippine* Islands, I would have *Seminaries* to be erected for Mariners, and places appointed all along the Coast of *Spain*, where young youths may be taught to build Ships and Gallies, and may learn to know the Stars, and the use of the Mariners Compasse, and of the Sea Tables, and Charts: all these things I say, I would have beaten into the dullest heads. And then, whensoever He destroyes any Country, He ought to have more regard to the Captives, then to the spoiles of it: and so becomming wiser then formerly, He shall change away Gold and Silver for a better sort of Merchandise.

Secondly,

Secondly, at what parts so ever His Navy shall arrive, He should make Havens, and erect such Work-houses; especially at the mouths of Rivers and Bayes, He should cause Ships and Gallies to be built; in the manning of which He may make use of such Mariners as have been brought up in the foresaid Seminaries.

Thirdly, when He hath thus gotten to be well stored with Men, He may then treat with the richer sort among the *Portuguezes* and the *Genois*, and let them know, that they shall have both of them free liberty to build themselves Ships and Gallies, and with the same to sayle round about the New World, which is now almost wholly the King of Spains, and to go into the Havens, and to fall upon Towns and Castles there, and to keep all the Booty they shall there find, to themselves; only the places themselves they shall deliver up to the King, together with all the Elder Children of both sexes, for the supply of His Seminaries. And if they chance to take any whole large Country, they may have whole Baronies bestowed upon them for their Reward: And by this means both the King wil be enriched, and the *Genois* will become the Instrumentts both of confirming and enlarging the Kings Empire: who yet are themselves so rich, as that they are able either of them to set forth whole Fleets of Ships against the Great *Turk*, and to take in very many Countries for themselves, if they pleased: and therefore the Kings Navies ought alwayes to be so much the greater, and the better provided.

Fourthly, the *Hollanders* also, *Dantzickers*, and the *Gutlanders* are in a friendly manner to be dealt withal, and perswaded to do the same, as is said before; only upon this condition, that they shall deliver in their Sons as Pledges, that what places so ever they shall take in, they shall not reckon upon them, as gotten to themselves; nor shall introduce Heresie into the same. And by this means they would be the easier brought in subjection to the King, even without making War upon them, in like manner as the *Genuefs* are; and thus by degrees would the whole World be brought over to comply with the Spaniards Customes, and Manners.

Fifthly, every seventh year such persons, as are condemned to death, are to be called forth; and, under the shew of a gentler punishment, are to be sent away into the West *Indies*: and so likewise the Children of Hereticks, and of such others as shall
be

be conquered by Him, either in the *Low-Countries*, or *Africk*, should be sent into the Seminaries: that afterwards they may be serviceable to the King, both at home and abroad, both in Nautical Affairs, and in the Tilling of the Ground.

And, I would have the King to be well assured, that He hath not more need of any thing, then of Men; and especially, of some most Experienced, and Able Person, for the managing of His Affairs; such as were *Lycurgus*, and *Solon*; of which sort of Men there are many more to be found nowadaies, then there were then; only, by reason that they are Obnoxious to other mens envy, they are not so much taken notice of as they ought to be. There should also be Mathematicians sent out of the *Low-Countries*, and out of *Germany*, into all parts of the World, for the observing of the Motions of the Stars, and what New Constellations there are; as also to observe the Situations of Countries, the depths of the Seas, what Motion they have from the East toward the West, together with their Ebbings and Flowings, and which of them increase when the Moon is twenty five daies old, and again decrease when she is twenty six; and which are fitter for the Summer Voyages, and which for Winter, and under what Star raining; so likewise in what parts their waters are thick, and heavy, and in which they are thin & light; and again, which of them are wont to be frozen, and which not: together with all their Rocks, Islands, and Shelves: for, the knowlege of these things will tend to the advancement of the Spanish Monarchy, more then any thing else whatsoever. For, God himself desires, that these works of His should be known; and He also reveals them to all such, as desire earnestly after the knowledge of the same.

There ought also diligent notice to be taken of all Habitable Places, and Temperate Climes; and in what parts of the World there are *Pygmies* found, and where *Giants*; where the Inhabitants are *Black*, and where *Red*; where *White*, and where *Green*; passing along thus in order from one Climate to another. For the perfect knowledge of the World, is as good as the Gaining of That half of It. And God himself hath given the World into the Possession of the Spaniards, because that They, above all others, have the most earnestly thirsted after the knowledge of the same; and because they also graced *Columbus* with Honours, and dignities, for that he desired to inform him-

self in the knowledge of World, as being the Handiwork of God himself.

— Besides, this course would be also of very good use, for the bringing under (through their Admiration of the Spaniards,) and also the weakning of the Northern People.

Now, that there may be continually safe Passage for the Kings Navies to and fro, He ought to set up two Orders of *Maritime Knights*, after the example of those of *Malta*: the Masters of which Orders should have their Residence in Spain, and they should be divided into Two Colledges, one of which should be called The *Eastern*, and the other, The *Western*: in which these Knights should be brought up from their Youth in the study of *Nautical Affaires*, and the Exercise of what ever concerns *Navigation*; where also they should take an Oath, that they will employ themselves continually in the scouring of the Seas, and use their utmost endeavours, both for the Protecting, and also the Enlarging of the Spanish Monarchy; for which purpose also the Younger Sons of the Barons should be made use of especially, and be employed in these Sea-Services, some as Commanders, and some as common Souldiers only. And if the King would but once resolve to put all these things into practise, He would quickly render Himself Formidable to the whole World; much more therefore to *England*, which yet He now stands in fear of: and besides, all hopes of being able to put forth any Fleets to Sea, would be quite cut off, both from the *Turks*, *Persians*, and all others whatsoever: and withall, those Salaries which are now swallowed up by Idle, uselesse Persons, would be more profitably bestowed upon such Worthy, Heroick spirits as we here speak of.

There should also be proposed, for the greater Encouragement of all such stout propagators of their Country as *Cortesus* was, some Proportionable Rewards; not so much of Mony, or Possessions of Lands; (for these savour too much of Covetousnesse; and may possibly by corruption be purchased for mony;) but rather of Honours: namely, that they should be allowed to have their *Triumphs*, after the example of the Ancient *Romans*; and should enter into *Spain* under their *Triumphal Arches*, wherein should be described such Places as they had taken, together with the manner how those Places were taken by them. They should also have their Statues Erected, for their greater Honour; and

and underneath the same there should be such New Stars as are found to appear in the *New World* set up, wrought in Metall. Neither can it be imagined, how much good this course would do for the preservation of Military Discipline, and also for the exciting, and stirring up of all Mens minds towards the attempting of noble, and high things.

It would also make very much to the businesse in hand, in case that the King would but command, that all the famous Acts of what persons soever, whether Commanders, or Common Soldiers, should be Publickly recorded, with the Names of the Authors of the same set down to them: for, this would serve as a Spur to stirre up others to the like Attempts. For seeing that those *Monuments* and short *Inscriptions* that we see in small Chappels, do enflame those that are living, through the Desire of Fame, and excite them to the study of Virtue; what ought we to think it will do, when Men shall see that their Names shall be recorded in Annals and Histories, and shall be carried throughout the whole World, and celebrated to all Eternity? In which Particular certainly our *Castilians* were very much overseen; who, notwithstanding that they performed things most worthy to be committed to everlasting Memory, namely their so frequent Compassing the Earth about, their finding out of so many Islands and Continents, and, which is the most eminent piece of service of all the rest, the Discovery of the *New World*; yet did they never all this while take care to employ any Able person, in the committing of these famous Acts of theirs to Memory, and, after the example of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, to record them in Writing, and transmit them over to the Perpetual Memory of Posterity: Although that the *Portugals* have herein gone far beyond the *Castilians*; for they have found out such able persons, as have published abroad to the world their gallant Acts, both in Latine, and in their own Native Language.

The Second sort of Rewards should respect Profit; and this I would have to be the Chiefest Dignity, or place of Honour in the Kingdom that should be taken in: the King whereof should be carried over into *Spain*, and should there be instructed in the Catholick Religion; and there should also be conferred upon him some Barony in *Spain*; to the end that It might so be rendered the more Illustrious; and also that the rest of the *Indian* Princes might be given to understand, that we put not to death

any of the Kings of such Countries as we subdue, if that they will but embrace Our Religion; (as, for instance, *Motecuma*, *Atabalipa*, and some other petty Kings that we could name:) but rather use them with all courtesie, and civility that may be. For, it is Fear of being put to death only, that forces those Princes to take up Armes against the Spaniard.

Businesse of State do all contain in them some Certain thing; the not knowing of which, makes all other things both Difficult, and also Vain, and to no purpose: as in sayling, there are some that spread the sailes, and others that ply their Oares, and some again are imployed either in casting forth, or taking in of Ballast; yet are all these things to no purpose, unlesse there be joyned with these an able Pilot, who by his skilful steerage of the Vessel, shall make good, and set forward the Labours of all the rest. And therefore *Spain* especially hath very great need of some Wise Person, that should know in what thing chiefly consists the Stern (as we may call it) of the Kingdom; without the knowledge whereof, all Concepts, Contrivances, Labours, Charges, and Consultations whatsoever will come to nothing. After that Pope *Clement* the VIII. began to think of making a Reformation among the Clergy, all men were ready to put to their helping hand, and assist in the framing of New LawES, Orders, and Ceremonies, together with appointing of Fasting daies, and such Habits as every one should wear. But I, living at that time at *St. Sabines*, told them plainly, that all the endeavours of the Commissaries were vain, seeing that the *Rule* it self was sufficient for the bringing about of all those things; neither indeed did they know, wherein the main point of the businesse lay. I added moreover, that the whole businesse of the Reformation consisted in this, that no one particular person of the whole company in Monasteries, or the like Religious Houses, should have a Key or Lock to himself of his Cell, but that there should be only One Common Key, that should serve both for the *Dormitory*, and also for every mans particular lodging. For this would have been a means at once to have put an end to all Proprieties; and to have kept out all Wanton Books, Gifts, and Obscene Poetry. But when that the Chief and Principal Governours of this Ship once perceived, that all this would redound to Their Losse, there was none of Them then that would set his hand to the Stern, nor come to the head of the matter: but they would onely have some LawES to be made,

made, concerning Novices only, and such as were newly entred in Religion: but would not hear of any thing at all that touched their own interest. And so by this means the good Intention of the Pope was utterly frustrated, and came to nothing.

The Kingdome of Spain therefore hath need of some Wise *Palinurus*, by whose Conduct all things may be rightly managed according to the Rules before laid down. Which certainly would much more tend to the advancement of the Majesty of its Empire, then any *Macchiavilian* Suggestions, and Cunning Devices whatsoever, which have nothing of a Good Conscience in them at all; and which besides serve as a Cloak only, to disguise the Tyranny, and Cruelty of Princes, by arming them with the Law of Majesty; and which countenance such Abuses, as even not silly Women, much lesse People that have been accustomed to Liberty, can endure. And therefore I cannot sufficiently wonder, that there should be any that should so extol this Impious *Politician* to the heavens, as they do; as if His Writings were a Certain Rule, and Idea of a Good, and Happy Government. And yet this I do not so much wonder, as I am angry at, when I see that most Vile *Maxime* in Politicks to be admitted in the Administration of State Affaires; namely, That some things are Lawful in respect of the State, and others in respect of Conscience: Then which Opinion there cannot certainly be imagined any thing to be either more Absurd, or more Wicked. For, he that shall take away, or restrain that Universal Jurisdiction, that Conscience ought to have over All Things, as well Publick, as Private, shewes thereby, that he hath Neither any Conscience, nor any God. The very Beasts themselves are lead by a Natural Instinct to such things as are good for them, and refuse whatsoever would be hurtful to them; and should the Light of reason, and the Dictate of Conscience, which were given unto Man that He might know how to distinguish betwixt Good and Evil, be utterly Blind in Publick Things, and fail in businesses that are of the Greatest Moment? I have had, I confesse, I know not what Itch upon me, to give an account in writing of such Points, as that Author ought to be chastised for with the Rod of Censure; and not onely he himself, but all his Disciples, I mean, the Counsellours of Princes, and their nearest Favorites; for certainly both all the Scandals of the Church of God, and all the Perturbations and hurly burlies that have happened in

in the whole World have had their rise from hence. But yet I have thought fit to hold my hand till some other time, seeing that some others have written of the same Subject already very copiously, and also because that the thing is of it self clear enough. And therefore I fell upon another Design, whereby I might Illustrate the Majesty of the Spanish Empire; the conservation whereof is a businesse of much greater difficulty, then the Acquisition. For, Humane Things do, as it were, Naturally encrease sometimes, and sometimes again decrease; after the example of the Moon, to which they are all subject. And therefore it is a most High, and weighty undertaking, if not such a one as is above the Power of Man, to endeavour to Fixe them, & keep them in one Certain, standing Condition; that so they fall not from the pitch they had arrived at, nor grow worse, and fall to decay. For, in the Acquisition of anything, both Occasion, Fortune, and also the Enemies Errors, and other the like Accidental things do very much assist; which are yet all of them placed without a Man: But to keep what is got, requires both an Excellent Wit, and singular Wisdom. Valour is of use for the getting; but Prudence, and that not Ordinary neither, for the Keeping what is Gotten. For the rayeing of Tumults, and Sedition, the Vilest Persons have power enough: but Peace, and Quietnesse have need of Art and skill to maintain them. The Lacedemonians, that they might shew, that it was a businesse of greater moment to keep what was Ones Own, then to possesse himself of what was another mans, appointed punishments for those onely that had lost their shield in fight; but not those that had lost their Sword: and among the Germans, of old, it was reputed a most Heynous crime for a man to have left his sheild behind him; neither was it Lawful for any man in that Scandalous manner, to be either present at their Sacrifices, or to joyn with them in any of their Meetings. The Romans also were wont to call *Fabius Maximus*, the Shield of their Commonwealth; but, *Marcus Marcellus*, The Sword: And it is certain enough, that they made much more account of *Fabius*, then they did of *Marcellus*. Of this Opinion also was *Aristotle*, who affirms in his *Politicks*, that the Office, and Duty of a Lawgiver doth not so much consist in the constituting, and Forming of Cities, as in the endeavouring to preserve them when they are formed, and to make them stand firm as long as possibly may be.

Neither

Neither need that to trouble us at all, that the Propagators of Kingdoms have alwaies been more highly esteemed then the Conservators of the same; for the reason of this is, because that their Present Acts do more affect, and take up the Eyes of men, and do make a greater Noyse, and shew, and are fuller of Ostentation, and *Novelty*, which all People so dearly love. And this is the reason, why most people do more applaud, and are delighted to hear of *Expeditions*, and Conquests; then they are taken with those other more Peaceful Arts of Preserving what Men had before gotten: which Arts notwithstanding, by how much the more Tranquillity, and Quiet they work withal, so much the greater both Judgment, and Wit, do they argue to be in him whosoever he be, that knowes how to make use of them. And as Constant Rivers are much more Noble then sudden *Torrents*, that are caused only by the Accidental falling of some Violent Showres of Rain; which yet are with more Admiration gazed upon, then those more quietly-flowing Rivers; Just so is it with the Common People, that alwaies have him in greater Admiration and Account that Wins Countries, then that preserves them when they are gotten. And yet the truth is, that it is a much harder Task, (as *Florus* hath also observed) to preserve and make good a Province, then to make one. These things are indeed gotten by strength; but they are kept by Good Lawes. And therefore I shall conclude with that of the Poet:

Non minor est virtus, quam quare, pars tuari.

It shews as great a Skill,
To keep, as Conquer still.

And now I conceive I have treated Copiously enough, touching the *Prudence*, and *Occasion* that the King of Spain ought to make use of, both in General, and Particular: notwithstanding that having been detained ten years in misery, and being also sick, I could not have the opportunity of furnishing my self with such things as this businesse required, nor could have the help of any Books; for indeed I had not so much as a Bible by me when I wrote this Discourse: so that I shall the more easily deserve the Readers Pardon, in case that I shall have any where doatingly failed, either by setting down some things in such places as were not proper for them; or else by writing some things twice. I have done what I was able to do; though I could not do what I would willingly have done: the fuller handling of all which things

things notwithstanding I shall reserve for some fitter Opportunity.

In the mean time I desire, that Your Lordship would take the pains to peruse this Tumultuary, sudden Piece; which yet I hope I shall revise again, against the next Easter: and therein I shall take the more pains and care, and shall take away, and adde, where I shall see cause. This Age of ours hath also Its *Solons*, *Lycurgusses*, and *Josephs*, which are sent by God himself: but they are kept under, and are not admitted to the Presence of Princes: And that Common Saying, namely, that there are no *Solons*, or *Aristotles* born now adaies, is most false. For indeed there are such born even in these our daies; and such as are better then they too: but they lye hid, and concealed; whiles that *Genziles* are had in admiration; but *Christians* are envied.

But I would have these things committed to Secret Ears: for hereafter, when they shall have been viewed over again, and corrected, they will be more esteemed of, then the *Sibylls* Books were by the *Roman* King. It is not in the power of Envy to hinder me from speaking thus much: for, when those things which I have here delivered shall but come to be examined, and made trial of, *Spain* shall know what It hath to do, and shall perceive how great my desire is to assist it in what I may.

Pro captu Lectoris habent sua fata Libelli.

Books either fail, or hit,
By th' Scale o'th' Readers Wit.

And thus I shall now take leave of Your Lordship; whose Honours, and Deserts I desire, and earnestly pray, that Almighty God would crown with a happy length of years, and a full increase.

FINIS.

